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KARL ABRAHAM
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There can be no doubt that of all the blows the science of psycho-analysis has yet suffered the death of Karl Abraham is much the most cruel and severe. We have once before lost by death a President of a Branch Society, and we miss a number of other valued workers whose names will always live in our memory. Blows of another sort have several times affected the psycho-analytical movement, one of which even brought with it the loss, by another way than death, of a President of the International Psycho-Analytical Association. But, with all due respect to the memory of our other dead colleagues, none of them meant to psycho-analysis what Karl Abraham did; for he was at once a master of its theory and practice, a pioneering contributor to our growing knowledge, a leader and organizer of the rarest order, as well as a loyal friend and colleague to all. Some of the reasons why the loss we have just sustained is so great will appear from the following record of his life and activities.

The main *events of Abraham's life*, considered externally, are as follows. He was born in Bremen on May 3, 1877, so that he was forty-eight when he died. He came of an old Jewish family that had long been resident in the Hanseatic towns of North Germany; there was an older brother, but no sister. He attended the high school at home until 1896, when he entered on the medical curriculum.

In his later school years Abraham developed an intense fondness for comparative linguistics and philology. Had he had the opportunity he would have preferred to devote himself entirely to such studies, and his interest in them persisted all his life. He certainly possessed an unusual talent in this direction. Besides his mother tongue he could

speak English, Spanish, Italian and some Ræto-Romanic ; he analysed patients in the first two of these, and his paper at the International Congress of Psychology in Oxford was delivered (unwritten) in English. He also had a respectable knowledge of Danish, Dutch and French, being doubtless accustomed to hearing something of the two former languages in his childhood. He was thoroughly at home in the classics and eagerly seized the opportunity of his children's school studies to revive his familiarity with them. No one who was present at the Hague Congress in 1920 will forget the astonishment with which we heard him deliver a speech in a Latin that had to be brought up to date for the occasion.

He pursued his medical studies at Würzburg (a town for which he retained a great affection, hence perhaps the choice of it for the first German Psycho-Analytical Congress), Berlin, and Freiburg im Breisgau. He obtained his state doctorate in 1901 from the last-named university.

During these studies his principal interest was in biology, a fact which had a profound influence on his later work and general scientific outlook. It was while he was at Freiburg that he first became acquainted with Switzerland, the country which ever after he loved above all others. He liked the Swiss people and mode of life, but it was certainly the high mountains, which contrasted so much with his home scenery, that constituted the principal attraction. As soon as he had the chance he became an enthusiastic alpinist and made a number of first-class climbs. Like Segantini, who had died just before Abraham's first visit to Switzerland and in whose personality he was so deeply interested, he preferred the Upper Engadine to all other places on earth, and he returned there time and again. His last holiday, the convalescence from which we all hoped so much, was spent there in the summer of 1925, and he was able to carry out fairly arduous climbs even at that time. He had long cherished the desire to build a villa in that locality (near Sils Maria), and the last letter he ever wrote was a business one connected with this project.

While at Freiburg he conceived the wish to obtain a post at Burghölzli, partly so as to be in his beloved Switzerland, partly because he had been impressed by Professor Bleuler's work in psychiatry and esteemed it higher than that of any other psychiatrist. He had, however, to wait a few years before this wish could be gratified, and so in April, 1901, he accepted the post of assistant at the Berlin Municipal Asylum at Dalldorf. For his chief here, Professor Liepmann, he always preserved the greatest respect, and two scientific contributions dating

from this time were in Liepmann's special field, that of aphasia and apraxia. He worked for nearly four years at Dalldorf, thus laying a sound foundation in clinical psychiatry; but in December, 1904, he was made happy by obtaining an appointment at Burghölzli, with the title of Assistant at the University Psychiatric Clinic of Zürich. Here his attention was soon turned in a more definitely psychological direction, and through Bleuler and Jung he became acquainted with Freud's works. His first contribution to psycho-analysis dates from this period, a paper (9) [1] read before an annual meeting of the German Psychiatric Society at Frankfurt. By a sad coincidence his last appearance in public was in a suburb of the same town eighteen years later, when he presided over the Ninth International Psycho-Analytical Congress.

About this time also occurred an event which was the main reason for the happiness and delight in life so characteristic of the man, and which was largely responsible for the energy and whole-hearted enjoyment with which he was able to devote himself to his work. Obtaining the appointment at Zürich coincided with his becoming engaged and, as his position there steadily improved, he was able to marry, in January, 1906. His choice of helpmeet was supremely fortunate, for he found a partner who shared his life to the full and possessed a capacity for happiness equal to his own. A daughter was born at Zürich at the end of 1906, and a son a few years later in Berlin.

Abraham's own hope was to be able to work permanently in Switzerland, but experience soon showed him that the chances of a regular psychiatric career there were very remote for a foreigner, so that he had to look elsewhere. His decision to leave was doubtless hastened by the uncomfortable atmosphere resulting from the tension between Bleuler and Jung. He therefore resigned his post in November, 1907. In the same month he met Professor Freud for the first time, on a visit he paid to him in Vienna; the last time the two met was in the August of 1924 on the Semmering. The conversations that then took place bore early fruit in an important paper (11), to which we shall have occasion to recur. The personal relations thus established ripened into a friendship which remained unclouded till the end. Abraham was one of a small group who regularly visited Professor Freud during the holiday season; on one occasion he organized a tour in which they took part in a region, the Harz, which he knew well.

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[1] Such numbers, in brackets, refer to the appended bibliography.

In December, 1907, Abraham settled in Berlin and began a private psychiatric practice. He was helped somewhat at first by Professor Oppenheim, a relative by marriage, and he worked for a time at Oppenheim's neurological clinic; but their divergent attitude towards Freud's theories soon brought about a distance between the two men. Of more lasting assistance was that rendered by Dr. Wilhelm Fliess, whom Abraham got to know a few years later and for whom he conceived a great regard; it was Fliess who was mainly responsible for his treatment during his last illness.

Abraham was thus the first true psycho-analyst in Germany; for one can hardly call such the few men, Muthmann, Warda, etc., who had gone only a little way with Freud's theories. He immediately began, by means of private gatherings and lectures in his own house, to interest other physicians in the work. Of those whom he managed to interest at that time, however, only one, Dr. Koerber, has persevered to the present day. He also tried for a few years to present the subject at meetings of the various medical societies, where he displayed great courage and pertinacity in facing alone bitter and even fierce opposition. In spite of these qualities, however, and his characteristic hopefulness, even Abraham had ultimately to recognize the futility of such an undertaking. But the clouds began to lift. In the autumn of 1909 Dr. Eitingon, who had also worked at Burghölzli, joined him in Berlin, and from that time on Abraham had a colleague after his own heart.

The International Psycho-Analytical Association was formally established in March, 1910, and the Berlin Psycho-Analytical Society was founded in the same month. It was the first branch of the International Association to be constituted, the Vienna and Zürich branches following in April and June respectively; both these cities had of course informal groups for years before Berlin. Of the nine original members (which included Dr. Warda, the first physician independently to give support to Freud's theories) only two still remain in the Society, Drs. Eitingon and Koerber. Something will be said later about what Abraham meant to the Berlin Society, but a few simple facts may be related at this point. He held the Presidency of the Society from its foundation until his death. He gave freely and of his best to the Society; its interests always stood first with him. He was unremitting in his attendance, in leadership and criticism. Nearly all his chief works were communicated first of all to the Society. In all he read no fewer than forty-six communications to it in the fifteen years of his Presidency, in several of which he was unavailable owing to either

war or illness ; twelve communications were delivered in a single year (1923). His capacities in the training and teaching of analysts found scope also outside the activities of the Society. He conducted a number of training analyses, and among his most distinguished pupils may be mentioned Helene Deutsch, Edward Glover, James Glover, Melanie Klein, Sándor Radó and Theodor Reik. Obvious disadvantages presented themselves, however, in local workers being analysed by the President of the Society, and it was a relief to Abraham when this difficulty was brilliantly solved by Dr. Hanns Sachs being invited to Berlin in 1920 and being given an official appointment in connection with this side of the work. On the other hand Abraham freely devoted himself to delivering courses of lectures, and he rendered invaluable services in Berlin in this respect. The first course given under the auspices of the Society was a four weeks' one delivered in March, 1911 ; from then on he played a prominent part in every series arranged by the Society and later by the Lehrinstitut. Abraham was also active, though in a very minor way as compared with Eitingon, in founding and supporting the Berlin Polyclinic. From its inception in 1920 he was a prominent member of the Commission for the Education of Psycho-Analysts. In this field he was active in selecting suitable candidates, in training selected ones, particularly from abroad, and in general helpfulness in matters of organization. His time was of course too much in demand for him to engage in actual daily work at the Polyclinic itself.

Similarly Abraham's relation to the International Association was throughout a close one. He was one of the five or six who have attended every Congress so far held. The first Congress, in April, 1908, though actually organized by Dr. Jung, was mainly Austro-Hungarian in *personnel ;* Abraham was one of the three ' foreigners ' to speak at it (the other two being Jung and the present writer). He read a paper at every Congress except the last one, where he was deterred by ill-health together with the duties of presiding ; this is a record equalled only by Professor Freud and Dr. Ferenczi. The eight papers in question are among the most valuable of his contributions to psycho-analysis, and we shall presently mention them all when considering his scientific work. At and after the Munich Congress, in 1913, Abraham led the opposition against Jung and, after the latter resigned, the Advisory Council of the Association appointed Abraham to act as provisional President until the next Congress could be held. He made all the preparations for one to take place in Dresden in the September of 1914, and did in fact preside in this provisional capacity when it finally met

in Budapest in the September of 1918. At the Seventh Congress, in 1922, he was made Secretary of the International Association, and at the Eighth, in 1924, he was finally elected, amid great applause, to the position of President. At the Ninth Congress, held the year after, he was unanimously re-elected.

Abraham was on the editorial staff of the *Zentralblatt* and *Zeitschrift* from the beginnings of these journals, and in 1919 was one of the editors of the latter. His activity here, however, was confined to matters of general policy and to contributing original papers and reviews. When Dr. Jung resigned the editorship of the *Jahrbuch* he was succeeded by Drs. Abraham and Hitschmann, who produced Band VI in 1914. They would doubtless have continued in this capacity had it not been decided to discontinue the *Jahrbuch*.

Almost throughout the course of the war Abraham served at Allenstein, in East Prussia, where he was chief physician to the psychiatric station of the Twentieth Army Corps. The experience there gained enabled him to contribute to the psychology of war neurosis (57), and two of his most valuable other papers (52, 54) also date from this period. The war left him with a disastrous legacy of ill-health which quite possibly was the ultimate cause of his death. Toward the end of his service he contracted a severe dysentery which cost him a great effort to throw off. Even afterwards he suffered from recurrent attacks, of which the last was in the spring of 1924. His health then appeared to be perfectly restored. In May of last year he accidentally inhaled a small foreign body; it was presumably infected, for within a fortnight he underwent an alarming attack of septic broncho-pneumonia that very nearly proved fatal. This left a local bronchiectasis which never entirely disappeared. A convalescence of several weeks in the Engadine was followed by the strain of presiding at the Homburg Congress, which was evidently too much for him. In the autumn, however, he appeared to be better and even made tentative efforts to resume his work. But the condition got worse, obscure complications set in, and in November he had to enter a hospital. A fortnight later he underwent a serious operation which did not have the hoped-for effect. He gradually sank, and finally succumbed on Christmas Day, 1925. Throughout his long and painful illness he never evinced any doubts about the outcome, and he was full of optimistic plans to the very end. His tenacity of life, strength of will, and power of bodily recuperation were all of a most extraordinary order and astounded the physicians in charge. Several times it seemed impossible that a human being could survive

the appalling stress that the affliction imposed on his body, but his will and courage refused to surrender until he ceased to breathe.

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In order to obtain a fresh and unitary view of Abraham's *scientific works* I have just re-read the whole of them and will record my impressions of them here. In a personal appraisement of this general nature it will be understood that no attempt will be made to abstract or review the works themselves in any detail. The observations that will be offered may be divided under the headings of quantity, quality, and content.

Abraham was not a voluminous writer and the actual amount of what he wrote is less than one might expect from one's sense of their significance. His printed publications, excluding merely verbal communications, consist of four small books, containing altogether less than 300 pages, and forty-nine other papers amounting to about 400 pages ; in addition there will be at least one posthumous paper. Very many of these were only a page or two long, and only five exceeded twenty pages.

The fact just mentioned is doubtless to be correlated with what was perhaps the most salient feature of all Abraham's writings, namely, a remarkable conciseness. Abraham never wasted a word in saying what he had to ; every sentence was pregnant with meaning, and this meaning was expressed with completely unambiguous lucidity. He had an intense feeling for the concrete, he kept close to his clinical data and never indulged in remote hypotheses. These qualities, together with an unusual degree of objectivity, were also of great value in reviewing the work of others. The collective reviews he wrote (15, 16, 51, 73) were models of what such things should be and are of permanent value in rapidly orienting the student of psycho-analysis ; the same qualities are to be observed in the numerous reviews he wrote for the *Zentralblatt* and *Zeitschrift*, which are not listed in the bibliography. Abraham was a master of exposition and especially excelled in the difficult art of presenting case histories. It is well known how hard it is to enter into a report of someone else's cases, which is apt to be so incomplete as to be useless or else so long and confused as to be boring. Abraham's smooth and easy style, combined with his feeling for the essential, enabled him to initiate the reader into the gist of a case in a

page or two, and the clinical data with which he fortified his conclusions were always as interesting as they were instructive. Few writers on psycho-analysis have equalled him in the gift of clear and attractive style, a gift all the more valuable in dealing with such a complicated subject-matter.

Coming now to the nature and content of Abraham's writings, we should constantly bear in mind, in estimating their significance, the date at which they were written. It is a testimonial to the general accuracy of his work that so much of it has become incorporated into our daily knowledge as to make it not easy to appreciate the novelty it once had. His writings fall in a general way into four groups. There are first those pioneering works to which reference has just been made ; among them may be mentioned those on the psychology of dementia præcox (11), the sexual aspects of alcoholism (12), the influence of incestuous fixations in the choice of a mate (13), and his book on dreams and myths (14). Secondly there is a number of neat and finished studies, classics which we can always re-read with enjoyment and instruction ; such are his essays on hysterical dream phantasies (17), Segantini (30), Amenhotep (34), the transformations of scoptophilia (43), ejaculatio præcox (54), war neuroses (57), and the castration complex in women (67). Thirdly we have his most original works, which constitute a valuable and permanent addition to our knowledge ; prominent among these one would place his investigations into the pregenital stage of development (52) with his two books on the evolution of the libido (105) and character formation (106) respectively. The fourth and last group would comprise a large number of shorter papers always containing data that illustrated, confirmed or expanded our knowledge of psycho-analytical theory and practice.

In reviewing Abraham's writings as a whole one is especially struck with the remarkable many-sidedness of them. They cover the whole field of psycho-analysis and there are few parts of that vast field which they do not illuminate. Even on the aspects of psycho-analysis on which he wrote least, e.g. homosexuality, dream interpretation, and education, enough is implied in his other works to show that he was thoroughly conversant with the problems involved. The variety of his writings makes it expedient to divide them into different groups and for the present purpose five main headings have been chosen.

1. *Childhood* (including Infantile Sexuality). Abraham's first two papers on psycho-analysis dealt with infantile traumata (9, 10), and from the first he was concerned to point out the dynamic aspects of

the individual's reaction to the trauma. He shewed how the repeated experiencing of sexual assaults constitutes with some children a regular form of their sexual activity, an aspect of the subject quite ignored by criminologists and indeed by psychologists. In the same connection, with special reference to the traumatic neuroses, he dealt with unconscious impulses directed against the self (injury or death), a theme which recurs many times in his works. These impulses, which we should now describe in terms of hostility against the ego or against some renounced object which has been incorporated into the ego, he attributed at that time to unconscious masochism.

We pass now from his first writings to some of his last, which may well be called his most important ones. I refer to his work on the pregenital stage of libidinal development. Already in 1913 the title of a communication to the Berlin Society (41) tells us that he was preoccupied with the inter-relation of the nutritional and sexual instincts, and in 1916 he published one of the two most brilliant contributions he ever made to psycho-analysis (52). With the aid of an astonishing case material, containing examples of infantile oral habits persisting to an age when their erotic nature could be put beyond doubt by direct introspection, he confirmed to the full Freud's conclusions about oral erotism. Adopting Freud's terms ' pregenital ' and ' cannibalistic ', he greatly enriched our knowledge of this phase in development, particularly as regards the phenomena in later life derived from it. Notable in the latter connection are the important relationships he established between oral erotism on the one hand and sleep and speech on the other. Many disturbances in eating were traced to a similar source. He distinguished between the cases where a disjunction has been effected between the two forms of mouth activity (nutritional and erotic), which are at first so closely united, and those where the union has persisted ; and he pointed out that adult thumb-suckers, etc., belong to the former class, i.e. are in a more advanced stage of development than the person afflicted with neurotic disturbances of the eating function. The clinical parts of this paper, on manic-depressive insanity, will be mentioned in a later connection.

The continuation of this work, which took the form of a book published only last year (105), contains such a wealth of thought and investigation that no summary could do it justice. It is Abraham's weightiest contribution to psycho-analysis. In it he subdivides the three main stages in libidinal development into six: oral (1, sucking ; 2, biting) ; anal-sadistic (1, destructive and expulsive ; 2, mastering and

retaining) ; genital (1, partial love or phallic ; 2, adult). None of these subdivisions was entirely original on his part, but the detailed and explicit way in which he analysed them and shewed the precise relation of one to the other constitutes a masterly piece of work which must always rank highly in psycho-analytical literature. In conjunction with van Ophuijsen he clarified the problems of the infant's relation to its object on the alimentary level (incorporation, expulsion, etc.), and threw a flood of light on the obscure problems of pregenital sexual life altogether.

Among other contributions to the study of childhood may be mentioned his papers on the part played by grandparents in infantile phantasy (40), the effects of overheard coitus (42 ; see also 43, Sect. ii.), the narcissistic attitude of infants towards excretory processes (63), and a series of pretty observations on infantile sexual theories (83, 94, 110) ; Nos. 38, 85 and 93 also belong to this group.

2. *Sexuality.* Abraham's interest in pregenital development was paralleled by that in the component instincts out of which adult sexuality is evolved. In an early paper on a case of foot and corset fetichism (18), he shewed how the osphresiolagniac, scoptolagniac and sadistic impulses could undergo a complicated process of intertwining and displacement so as to produce a manifest perversion.

His lengthiest single paper was concerned with the restrictions and transformations that the scoptophilic impulse may undergo (43). Using a rich case material on which to found his conclusions he dealt with the various forms of anxiety in regard to the visual function, other disturbances of this function, and neurotic affections of the visual organ itself. He traced the neurotic dread of light to displacements from an ambivalent attitude towards the parental genitalia, particularly the paternal ones ; one case of hysteria and two of dementia præcox were described in this connection and the therapeutic results recorded. Further themes in the same paper are ophthalmic pain and other neurotic eye symptoms, the symbolic significance of darkness (which will be described presently), phobias relating to ghosts and the sun, and a number of problems belonging to applied psycho-analysis which will be mentioned in their appropriate connection.

A clever paper written in the middle of the War solved many problems relating to ejaculatio præcox (54). Again illustrating his points throughout from his ample clinical experience, he demonstrated how this symptom results from a failure in the evolution of urethral erotism. It is not, however, simply a fixation on this form of erotism, for it does

not occur in masturbation, but depends on some feature in the object relationship. The cowardice characteristic of the condition, and the dread of hurting women, indicate repressed sadism. Such patients have a narcissistic over-estimation of the penis as being the urinary organ, they wish to exhibit urination in front of the woman, and because of her supposed contempt for the performance they react in a hostile manner by the impulse to pollute her. Disappointed love in respect of the mother, and consequently hostility towards her, furnish the key to the situation, as so often with the problems Abraham studied.

Another extremely valuable paper is concerned with the obverse of this attitude, i.e. with the hostility of women towards men as displayed in what Abraham termed the female castration complex (67). This contribution, which is extremely rich and suggestive, constitutes the basis of our knowledge of an obscure topic and has already opened the way to important later investigations. After discussing the various ways in which the girl may react to the belief that she has been castrated, the replacement of the wish for a penis by that for a child (confirmed by Freud's latest contribution on the subject at the Homburg Congress), and so on, Abraham distinguished two neurotic types, which are, however, evidently not to be too sharply separated. They result respectively from repression of the wish to take over the man's part in a positive direction and of the wish to avenge themselves by castrating the man ; he called them the wish-fulfilling and the revenge types respectively. He contrasted these neuroses with the more positive expressions in character formation, the former corresponding with female homosexuality and the latter with the archaic sadistic reaction. The motivating impulse in the second type is to bite off the man's penis, or at least to diminish his potency by disappointing him with frigidity and in other complicated hostile ways that will bring him into a position of contempt. This attitude logically culminates in a strong depreciation of the penis, and of men in general. Abraham shewed the connection of the complex with various neurotic symptoms, such as vaginismus, enuresis, conjunctivitis neurotica, etc., and also pointed out the numerous ways in which it may influence women in their object choice. Last, but not least, he shewed how such women can transmit their complex-conditioned reactions to their children.

Abraham's contributions in the sphere of love relationships in the usual sense are less extensive. In one of his first papers (13) he shewed how marriages among relatives are often the expression of an incestuous fixation, a fact of importance in connection with the transmission of

neurotic tendencies. In this connection he also pointed out (at the same time as Ferenczi) the part played by such fixations in the ætiology of psychical impotence and frigidity. Another manifestation of this fixation he saw in the undue tendency to monogamy. Some years later he published a pendant to this study in which he discussed the obverse manifestation of neurotic exogamy (45). Incestuous fixation was the theme of several other papers (e.g. 20, 22, 23, 53, 97, 98, 107, 112), and was of course extensively taken into account in all his analytic work.

Other papers on purely sexual topics are two on sadism (21 and 33), one on the ear passage as an erotogenic zone (46), two on anal erotism (48 and 70) which will be mentioned later, and a number of shorter ones (66, 86, 88, 89, 103).

3. *Clinical Subjects.* As was to be expected from a clinician of Abraham's rank, his contributions in this sphere are of special importance. The first one of note marked a turning point in our knowledge of the psychology of dementia præcox (11) and the differentiation between neuroses and psychoses in general. It is a matter for wonderment that a professional psychiatrist such as he was never returned to this subject later ; presumably it was because his interest in this field was concentrated in the attempt to unravel another psychosis. Jealous colleagues in Zurich unjustly accused him of not sufficiently acknowledging his indebtedness to Jung in connection with this paper, but events shewed clearly that Jung never accepted the main idea of the paper, which, as Abraham himself avowed, emanated from a conversation with Freud (his first one). The main idea in question was the suggestion that disturbances of the ego functions could be purely secondary to disturbances in the sphere of the libido, in which event it might be possible to apply Freud's libido theory to the elucidation of dementia præcox. After discussing the relation between sublimation and transference, Abraham pointed out that the capacity for both these processes is diminished in dementia præcox, and that the so-called dementia is simply the result of this state of affairs. In it the libido is withdrawn from objects—the opposite of hysteria, where there is an exaggerated object cathexis—and applied to the self. To this he traced the delusions of persecution and megalomania, the latter being an expression of auto-erotic sexual overestimation (of what later became termed narcissism). In contradistinction from hysteria, the psychosexual peculiarity of dementia præcox lies in an inhibited development at the auto-erotic level, with consequently a tendency to regress to this level.

Abraham's most systematic, and probably his most important, contribution to psychopathology consists in his three works on manic-depressive insanity. The brilliance of Freud's essay in the same field, and the striking manner in which he found the central key to the problems, have doubtless obscured some of the credit which Abraham deserved, as genius always does when brought side by side with talent; and this was probably heightened by a purely accidental circumstance: *Trauer und Melancholie*, that is to say, was written at a time when no reference could be made in it to some valuable contributions which Abraham had recently made (52), although, owing to war conditions, it was not actually published until a year later than the latter. No works of Abraham's reveal his scientific characteristics, as regards both his capacities and his limitations, better than these on manic-depressive insanity. It was also the study which evidently fascinated him more than any other, although it is probable, as indeed is hinted by the titles of two out of the three works, that he was more interested in the light the disease throws on certain early stages of libidinal development than in the clinical problems as such.

In his first paper on the subject (*Ansätze, etc.*, 26), which was read at the Weimar Congress in 1911, Abraham started from the assumption that depression must bear a relation to grief similar to that of anxiety to fear, and he came to the conclusion that the despair about life is the result of a renunciation of the sexual goal. He narrated six cases, in all of which he found both clinical and psychological features very much akin to those of the obsessional neurosis. Thus, the patients shewed many characteristics of the latter condition in the so-called free interval, and in both conditions there is a mutual paralysis of the love and hate instincts. In manic-depressive insanity the libido shews predominantly an attitude of hatred. It is as though the patient said " I cannot love because of my hate; the result is that I am hated and so I am depressed and hate back " (return of the repressed sadism). The sense of guilt and sin corresponds with repressed hate. The delusion of poverty is an expression of the same fact (money = love). In mania the complexes overcome the inhibitions and the patient reverts to the care-free state of childhood. He related the beneficial effects of his therapeutic endeavours and regarded them as justifying the hope that it would fall to psycho-analysis to free psychiatry from the nightmare of therapeutic nihilism.

His treatment of these clinical problems is more incidental in the second contribution (*Untersuchungen über die früheste prägenitale*

Entwicklungsstufe der Libido, 52), but none the less important. He here clearly recognized the oral fixation in melancholia and was able to explain a number of clinical features on that basis. Thus the refusal of food is due to regression to the old connection between eating and oral erotism, as is also the dread of starvation. He was further able to formulate the distinction between manic-depressive insanity and the closely allied obsessional neurosis in terms of pregenital libidinal organization. In the latter condition, with its anal-sadistic fixation, the attitude towards the object is one of mastering, whereas in the former condition it is one of annihilating through swallowing (late oral stage). The most striking feature of melancholia, the intense self-reproaches and self-depreciation, Abraham regarded as self-punishment induced by horror at the repressed cannibalistic impulses. In this he was partly right, for a certain number of these do emanate in this way from a guilty conscience, but he failed to make the much more important observation, which Freud said was " not at all hard to perceive ", to the effect that these reproaches are chiefly directed against the image of the lost love-object which has been erected within the ego. In a later paper he described his difficulty in understanding the point when he first read it in Freud's essay, and gave some personal explanation for his inhibition : it is not likely, however, that the explanation was a complete one. For a man of his rigid ethical standards it was evidently easier to grasp the fact that a person could inflict on himself severe suffering as a punishment for having had hostile wishes directed against a love-object than to believe that such a person was really still torturing the image of that object.

His third and most complete study of the problem (105) took full cognizance of Freud's epoch-making essay and Abraham was able to confirm all Freud's conclusions in detail and even to amplify some of them. He identified the incorporating of the object to which Freud had called attention with the swallowing impulse dating from the oral stage, and in this connection he developed some interesting considerations about the process of introjection in general. The facts that in the free interval the melancholiac can advance to an obsessional (i.e. anal-sadistic) level, and further that an essential difference between the two conditions is that the melancholiac gives up his object relationship whereas the obsessional neurotic retains his (Freud), brought him to the conclusion that the anal-sadistic phase must have two sub-stages (see above). He suggested that the line of demarcation between these two sub-stages may be of great practical importance in psychiatry

as indicating the point where true object-relationship sets in, thus pointing to one of the main distinctions between neurosis and psychosis. The ætiology of manic-depressive insanity he sought in a constitutionally strong oral erotism, with a special fixation at this level induced by severe disappointments in relation to the mother ; he distinguished between disappointments of this kind that occur before, during, and after the Œdipus stage. The melancholiac's hatred is predominantly directed against the mother, but in a later passage Abraham pointed out that some of this originally referred to the father, there being in this disorder an unusual tendency to invert the Œdipus complex. This feature and the ambivalency concerning both parents leads to complicated forms of introjection, and he could distinguish between reproaches emanating from either introjected love-object against the self and those directed by the self against the image of the object ; the latter are, of course, the principal and more characteristic ones.

Abraham drew an interesting parallel between melancholia and the processes of archaic grief as elucidated by Róheim. He further threw much light on the obscure matter of the curious course run by manic-depressive insanity. He regarded the incorporating of the object in the oral phase as being partly determined by an endeavour to preserve it from annihilation and considered that then, after the sadistic attack had worn itself out, the image of the love-object is once more expelled —by the anal route. He drew a picture of what he called the "primal depression" of infancy, the precursor of later melancholia, and suggested that patients affected with mania not preceded by melancholia were still engaged in shaking off this primal depression and the heightened sexual desire that follows the working through of grief, particularly as seen in primitive ceremonies.

In an early work on hysterical dream states (17) Abraham brought this syndrome, described by Löwenfeld, into relation with Freud's work on hysterical attacks and traced the genesis of them to masturbation phantasies which have undergone repression. Such patients linger in the stage of preliminary pleasure because end pleasure is associated with anxiety. He narrated six cases of the kind. In one of them he was able to trace the symptom of macropsia to a regression to childhood. His study of the condition furnished a link between auto- and hetero-suggestion, inasmuch as the attacks could be shewn to occur either quite spontaneously or in the presence of people by whom the patients felt themselves to be hypnotically influenced. Several of Abraham's short papers were on the subject of phantasy life, and his

pretty analysis of the father-saving type of phantasy (76) is specially worthy of remembrance in this connection.

Abraham published two papers on locomotor anxiety (39 and 44), a condition of which he had suffered slight symptoms himself in early life. He shewed that the sexual origin of the anxiety could be demonstrated by re-converting it therapeutically, when the same patients took an unusual pleasure in locomotor acts (both active and passive). In the same paper (44) he threw light on the common symptom of 'dread of dread' by connecting it with repression of 'preliminary pleasure'.

His war experience enabled him to confirm independently the view that had been put forward by the present writer concerning the narcissistic origin of the so-called 'war-shock' cases (57), as did also Ferenczi shortly afterwards. Criticism is often made of the supposedly subjective nature of psycho-analytic work, but this may be quoted as an experimental demonstration of the contrary. When faced with entirely novel problems observers in different countries, quite cut off from one another by war conditions, investigated them and came to substantially the same conclusions.

In a discussion on Ferenczi's work on tic, Abraham threw out the interesting suggestion that the condition represents a conversion symptom on the anal-sadistic level to be contrasted with the symptoms of conversion-hysteria developed on the phallic level (72).

Abraham's contributions on the subject of therapeutics were few, but important. The chief one was certainly his study of a special and difficult type of reaction characteristic of some patients (58). They are mostly obsessional neurotics who shew a high degree of narcissistic defiance and who tend to avoid transference by identifying themselves with the analyst. They insist on conducting their analysis themselves, a tendency which Abraham connected with anal-sadistic reactions. Forbidden masturbation plays an important part in the ætiology of such cases. Abraham discussed helpfully the special therapeutic technique needed to deal with this difficult type. His paper on psychoanalytic treatment in advanced years (62) may be summed up in the dictum that the prognosis depends more on the age of the neurosis (i.e. the age of the patient at which the neurosis became severe) than on the actual age of the patient. Special measures are necessary, however, in these older cases, such as more active pressure and help on the part of the analyst. In this connection may also be mentioned the clear way in which he illustrated the value of Freud's advice not to

encourage patients to write down their dreams before analysis (37). Finally, Abraham's work on the treatment of psychotic patients is the best we yet possess, and he must certainly be regarded as a pioneer in this difficult field. He shewed a rare degree of scepticism and critical honesty in recording his results (26, 105), and he suggested useful criteria (e.g. *passagère* symptoms) for determining what proportion of a given change in mental state could be ascribed to the actual therapeutic endeavours of the physician. He demonstrated that manic-depressive insanity can, in favourable cases, be radically affected by psycho-analysis, and he was very hopeful of further progress along these lines.

Abraham took a special interest in the problems of alcoholism and drug habits. Almost the only papers he wrote in pre-analytical days, apart from those evidently inspired by his teacher's interests, were on the effects of drug taking (3 and 4). His early paper on the relations between alcoholism and sexuality (12) shewed the essential nature of the connection between the two and was the foundation of all our later knowledge on the subject. Indeed the only important later contribution that has been made on this matter has dealt with the inherent relation between alcoholism and homosexuality, a connection which, curiously enough, Abraham pointed out only in regard to women. He missed also the homosexual basis of alcoholic delusions of jealousy, ascribing these only to the displacement of guilt on to the mate. He shewed, however, that the motive of drinking was temporarily to heighten sexual potency by undoing repressions and sublimations and releasing especially the component impulses, and further that alcohol betrays its user later by diminishing his potency. He also revealed the unconscious identification of alcohol with semen, and of syringe with phallus. The connection between morphinism and repressed sexuality was insisted on in the same contribution, as also in later passages (17, S. 14; 52, S. 84), where the oral basis of both smoking and morphinism was pointed out.

The numerous short communications on clinical subjects (24, 31, 32, 36, 49, 55, 68, 71, 90, 91, 104, 111) mostly contain notable observations and suggestions. One may remark that Abraham's interest in the obsessional neurosis seems to have been greater than that in hysteria. A clinical paper on Coué's teachings (115), not available at the moment of writing, is being prepared from notes left by Abraham, and will be published at the same time as this obituary.

4. *General topics.* By far the most important work of a general

nature that Abraham contributed to psycho-analysis was his investigation of characterology. Two of the three studies were published separately and then all three united in a single volume (106). In his essay on the anal character Abraham expanded the extensive work that had been done on this subject and added a number of fresh observations of considerable clinical and characterological value. We may especially note the two types he distinguished of excessive docility and defiance respectively, both of which may be present in the same person. He shewed also how the two types react in the analytic situation: the latter one produces a resistance very similar to the characteristic one he had described in another connection (58, see above), whereas the former one, on the other hand, insists on the analyst doing the whole work himself; in both cases the result is a refusal to enter upon free associations. The details of regression from the genital to the anal level were also dealt with in an illuminating way.

The second essay, on the contributions made by oral erotism to character-formation, was one of Abraham's most original contributions to psycho-analysis. The indirect effects of oral erotism in later life are in great part produced through the connection between it and anal erotism, and here Abraham shewed how primordial is the triangular relationship between the functions of acquiring, possessing and expending, the economy of which varies greatly among different persons. Direct gratification of oral erotism is of course permitted to a considerable extent in the adult, so that sublimation is less extensive than it is with some other erotogenic zones. The most typical form of sublimation seems to be the character trait of optimism, one which Abraham himself possessed in a high degree; it contrasts with the seriousness and pessimism of certain anal types, particularly those associated with early disappointments of oral gratification. If this disappointment occurs during the second—biting—phase of the oral stage, then the later love life will be characterized by great ambivalency due to the cannibalistic and hostile attitude towards the mother persisting. Abraham threw a great deal of light on the genesis and interrelation of other traits concerned with oral-erotic displacements, notably greed, envy, thrift, avarice, and impatience.

The third essay in this series dealt with the 'genital character,' and so was concerned with the problems of normality. Abraham disclaimed any attempt to set up absolute standards in this respect, and indeed insisted at length on the impossibility of doing so, but he never-

theless gave us a very valuable point of view by inquiring which of the pregenital features are the last to be relinquished. He found that the most severe way of testing genital normality was to ascertain the extent to which the subject has overcome his narcissism and the attitude of ambivalency that runs through most of the earlier stages. In his discussion of the importance of aim-deflected feelings of genital origin for a satisfactory social relationship with the outer world, Abraham dwelt on the supreme necessity of love in childhood and the injurious effects that may result from the child receiving too little of this essential pabulum.

In the same connection may perhaps be mentioned Abraham's attempts to solve the problems of grief (105). This also he considered to have an important connection with oral attitudes. Whereas Freud lays stress on the gradual and painful tearing of oneself away from the loved object under the demands of reality, Abraham paid more attention to the incorporation of the image of this object, and he regarded this as being carried out by the oral mechanism. (It is doubtful, however, whether this is a regular process in the ' grief-work.')

As a general contribution to psycho-analysis should also be mentioned the numerous social implications that belong to Abraham's work on the female castration complex (67, see above). These will be of very great importance sociologically in the future, and when they are more fully worked out the part that Abraham played in indicating them will not be forgotten.

Abraham's contributions to our knowledge of individual symbolisms were fairly extensive, and they have now for the most part been incorporated in the general body of science. Among them may be noted: house and garden as symbols of the mother, new house as that of the strange woman or baby (25 and 96); snake as a symbol of the *father's* penis, with the fear of death as a manifestation of dread of the father (32); spider as a symbol of the feared mother (80); his beautiful analysis of the forked road in connection with the Œdipus saga, as well as of the number three (76 and 82); and darkness (or anything mysterious and obscure) as a symbol of the mother's womb (including bowel) (43).

Abraham confirmed Stekel's observation about the significance of personal names (28), though he added little new on the point. He also made several contributions to the psychopathology of everyday life, both throughout his clinical writings and in a few special notes (e.g. 78, 79, etc.).

5. *Applied Psycho-Analysis.* Abraham's first work in this field was of historical importance (14), for it opened the way for much of the later research that has been carried out in the application of psycho-analysis to mythology, by Otto Rank, Theodor Reik and others. It was of course mainly inspired by the Œdipus analysis in the *Traum-deutung*. Justifying the attempt to correlate dreams and myths on the ground that they are both products of human phantasy, he shewed the far-reaching connections between the two. With both the essence of the phantasy is a wish-fulfilment and the wishes in both cases are unconscious and infantile. The egocentricity of the individual in the one corresponds with the egocentricity of the people in the other. The phenomena of censorship, repression and the formation of neologisms are common to both, as are the mechanisms of condensation, displacement and secondary elaboration. He illustrated these conclusions by presenting some dream analyses side by side with a most interesting study of the Prometheus myth and the legend of the divine drinks; incidentally the sexual nature of the latter, soma, nectar and ambrosia, was clearly pointed out. Making good use of his philological knowledge, Abraham pointed out the resemblances between the etymological and the psycho-analytic points of view and shewed how our knowledge of symbolism could be derived from investigation of the one field as well as from the other. His final conclusion was that ' myths are relics from the infantile mental life of the people and dreams constitute the myths of the individual '. The universal validity of determinism in mental life was also insisted on. The book is written with extraordinary skill and illustrates Abraham's lucidity and simplicity at their best. Although the contents are now fully assimilated in analytical circles, it is still a pleasure to re-read it and enjoy the powers of exposition which Abraham possessed in so high a degree.

Abraham's next work in this field also took book form, an interesting study of the Swiss painter Segantini (30). It was almost the first time that an attempt was made to analyse the personality of a painter and to correlate in detail the painter's unconscious trends with his choice of theme, composition and mode of presentation. He demonstrated the enormous influence the painter's mother exercised on both his life and his work, and he was able to trace in detail the ambivalent attitude of love and hate the painter bore to her; once more we have a study of the ' evil mother '. The closing pages of this book contain a remarkable foreshadowing of Freud's conception of the death instinct in its investigation of the unconscious motives leading to self-destruction. Abraham's

interest in this study was evidently with the psychology of the artist rather than in the psychology of art itself, but in a later paper (100), unfortunately never printed, he took up the question of the tendencies in modern art as seen from a psycho-analytic point of view.

Abraham's analysis of Amenhotep IV. (Echnaton) (34) is not only of great interest in itself, but is noteworthy as being the first occasion when it was shewn how a knowledge of psycho-analysis could contribute to the elucidation of purely historical problems. To attempt the psycho-analysis of someone who died some twenty-three centuries ago may have seemed a desperate undertaking, but Abraham's painstaking study had nothing of the hypothetical about it, and the conclusions he reached will be hard ever to impugn. Echnaton, " the first great man in the spiritual realm to be recorded by history ", was a fore-runner of the Christian teachers of the doctrine of love and an ethical revolutionary who reserved his hate for his father only. Abraham was able to shew how all Echnaton's innovations, iconoclasms and reforms could be directly traced to the effects of his Œdipus complex.

Abraham's wide education and general knowledge were turned to good account in many of his psycho-analytical studies. In his detailed investigation of scoptophilia (43, see above) he expounded his general conclusions with the help of a mass of mythological and folkloristic material. His equating of beliefs and fears concerning the sun and ghosts respectively was a noteworthy achievement in this paper, and in it he also clearly indicated the ambivalency of the motives that led to man displacing the father on to the heavens (exaltation and relegation to a distance). In the same paper he made a practical contribution to our knowledge of sublimation in science, philosophy and religion by shewing how chafing solicitude for the solving of questions that cannot be answered, such as those to do with the aim of life, the length of life, and the outcome of life after death, is largely the result of unconscious displacement from questions that may not or dare not be answered.

The same wide range of knowledge comes to expression in a number of shorter papers in the field of applied psycho-analysis, such as those on the significance of the ' day of atonement ' rites (64), the note on the Russian sect of yoni worshippers (25), the clever analysis of the details in the Œdipus legend (76 and 82), and many others (29, 56, 59, 64, 69, 84). The last paper ever published by Abraham (95), a most interesting study of a rogue he had come across, was a thoughtful contribution to one of the chief problems in criminology.

Summary. In attempting to summarise in a few words the essential characteristics of Abraham's written work, one would select the features of many-sidedness, one which speaks for itself in the review just made, and the high general average of excellence he maintained in his writings; hardly anything he wrote was of merely ephemeral value, and his work throughout was marked by the valuable qualities of sobriety, cautious scepticism and good judgement.

This evenness in quality may perhaps be correlated with an important feature of Abraham's mode of thought, namely, his consistently biological outlook. This gave a stable background to all his work and furnished a criterion by which the inherent probability or validity of any general conclusion could be measured. One may be permitted the reflection that of all the many ways in which Abraham will be missed in psycho-analysis, the one that may well have the weightiest consequences for the future will be in connection with this very feature. Psycho-analysis has not even yet come to the most decisive turning point in its development, although it has successfully survived important preliminary ones. That will come, and very likely within the next twenty years, when the question of incorporating psycho-analysis into the general body of science seriously arises. There the most severe test for the young science will present itself, for much will depend on the alternatives of whether it will be absorbed by a process of partial acceptance and continual attenuation or whether it will display sufficient vitality to preserve its essential qualities and impart them to the other branches of science with which it will come into contact. Just in this task which lies before us Abraham's characteristic qualities would undoubtedly have been of peculiar value, for he possessed a breadth and sanity of outlook over science and life as a whole combined in a rare degree with a single-minded vision of the depths of psycho-analytic truths.

On studying his original contributions one is struck by the preponderance of themes dealing with the pregenital stages of development, including auto-erotism and the component instincts, and with the element of repressed hate, especially in regard to the mother. The latter theme recurs again and again in his works and far outweighs in extent his contributions in the sphere of love, transference and akin problems. It is similarly remarkable that such a first-class clinician, a man with whom the clinical point of view was always the dominant one, contributed less to our knowledge of purely clinical problems, such as problems of the transference neuroses or even the psychoses (in spite of his work on manic-depressive insanity, which was the outstanding one

in this field), than to genetic problems of libidinal development. It is likely that he will be remembered longer for his contributions in the genetic than for those in the clinical field.

If one had to select Abraham's most important single piece of work, though never forgetting the variety of his valuable contributions to all aspects of psycho-analysis, it would probably be that on oral erotism. Here he described in full its various manifestations, traced clearly its internal development and its evolution into succeeding libidinal phases, worked out its relation to both love and hate, demonstrated its clinical importance in respect of alcoholism, drug-taking and especially manic-depressive insanity, and—last but not least—gave us a revealing picture of the significant part it plays in the formation of character. Perhaps the most outstanding lesson in psychology we owe to Abraham is the vast importance of the suckling period and the fateful consequences that antagonism aroused to the mother during this period may have for later life.

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It remains to say something about Karl Abraham's personality, about his personal value to psycho-analysis. We have attempted to present an objective estimate of what Abraham's scientific writings have meant and mean for the development of our knowledge, but his value to psycho-analysis greatly transcended even this. The nature of it may be hinted at by a single consideration : just as he was the central fulcrum through which the advance of psycho-analysis operated in Berlin, and in Germany altogether, so his influence insensibly made Berlin in many important respects the centre of the whole international psycho-analytical movement. To understand the secret of this achievement is to know Abraham. For the dominating position he attained in psycho-analysis was not in the smallest degree the result of any personal ambition or striving, it proceeded altogether from the automatic consequence of his intrinsic worth ; and therein lay the greatness of the man.

Some men are born to be leaders. It is in their nature to command others. Abraham was not such a man. To the very end, as he remarked to me at the Homburg Congress, he found it strange that he should occupy a prominent position ; it was, as he said, foreign to his nature, and it was not easy for him to apprehend and accept the evident fact.

His influence over his fellows and the important part he played sprang not from any desire for eminence, but from more solid qualities, from a surpassing worth that could not but be recognized. What were those qualities ?

This question can be answered only by resolving an antinomy. Prominent among Abraham's character traits were a refreshing youthfulness and a sanguine optimism. Now these are not traits that usually inspire implicit reliance, nor do they generally go with such qualities as cautious scepticism and calm, sober judgement on which we laid stress when considering Abraham's scientific work. Nevertheless both descriptions are profoundly true. To comprehend this paradox is to hold the key to Abraham's personality.

Even in the qualities that gave Abraham his great personal and social charm there were hints of stouter ones which formed the basis of his character. He was singularly youthful, and even boyish at moments when the circumstances were appropriate ; though he could be decidedly witty at times, a quiet fun, often very shrewd, was his more characteristic form of humour. This gave his personality, so winning to women and attractive to men, a freshness and vigour that always made him a stimulating companion or colleague. His demeanour was invariably cheerful, courteous and friendly. But these qualities were not to be presumed on. Behind them was a firmness impervious to the blandishments of man or woman. He could afford to be easy and pliant in his intercourse with others, just because he had himself so completely in hand ; knowing that he could not be unduly influenced from either within or without, he was confident in any situation. This complete confidence was ultimately rooted in self-mastery.

The same is true of one of his most characteristic traits, what his friends called his incurable optimism. He was always hopeful, however irksome or sinister the prospect, and his buoyancy together with the confidence that went with it often contributed materially to bringing about a more successful issue than at first seemed possible. As a rule this optimism was very nicely balanced with a keen sense of reality, so that its effect was purely invigorating, but once or twice in his life it played him false, marring what was otherwise a perfection of stability.

Abraham's capacity for reserve was to be discerned in the quiet punctiliousness of his manner. Probably, however, few even of his friends knew how deep this was. They only felt that somewhere there was a barrier beyond which one might not penetrate. For the purposes of life Abraham had compassed a peculiarly stable mental organization,

but the very depths were not to be plumbed, perhaps even by himself.

No one could know Abraham well without realizing that he was one of those men who are endowed with quite exceptional powers of sublimation and that he had attained an unusually advanced measure of emotional and instinctual development. It is not chance that it was he who taught us what is perhaps the best criterion of full mental development : the overcoming of narcissism and of ambivalence. For we shall not know many men who would emerge as he did when tried by this severe test.

Abraham had been able to transmute his egocentric trends in a very remarkable degree, with the result that he could devote himself quite single-heartedly to the one goal of his life, namely, the advancement of psycho-analysis. With a solitary exception, the nature of which was such as to prove the rule, it was impossible to detect in him a trace of any personal ambition whatever ; the exception was a rather odd desire to become a Docent at the University of Berlin, and this was itself obviously bound up with the prestige of psycho-analysis. His colleagues in Berlin will best know how completely he identified himself with the interests of the Society there—from the moment he founded it, in March 1910, to the time of his last attendance, on May 9 of last year. His rare gifts as a teacher, investigator and lecturer were indispensable to the development of the Society, but of still greater value were his qualities as a leader, of which we have still to speak.

His transmutation of purely personal interest, together with his native shrewdness of mind, gave Abraham an unusual capacity for viewing problems, personalities and events in a detached and objective way. This to a great extent accounts for the marked sobriety of his judgement, but it had a further value. It gave him a social ease and friendliness of manner that made it possible for him to approach his fellows with unusual directness, so that no one would well take amiss whatever he might have to say. Any criticisms he might wish to make were at once transferred from any personal basis to a purely objective one, and this attitude rarely failed in its effect of allaying emotion and conducing to a reasoned consideration of the matter. Courteously firm and, when his mind was made up, inflexible, he was never in the smallest way overbearing ; his quiet decisiveness was in itself authoritative. He was a delightful colleague to work with, as I had ample opportunity to observe when we were associated together in the Central Executive of the Association as well as in many other connections. He was always

accessible to any ideas presented to him and one could count on their not being refracted by any subjective elements ; an answer to any proposal would be clear, concise and concrete. All these qualities made him an admirable referee in matters of personal or scientific disputation. A great part, therefore, of both his sanity of judgement and his sagacity in human relationships proceeded from his capacity for impersonal objectivity.

Ambivalency was entirely foreign to Abraham's nature, both intellectually and emotionally. He seemed to be altogether devoid of hate. He sometimes disliked certain individuals, usually on the impersonal ground of regarding their activities as harmful to the cause of psycho-analysis ; but even so I have never known of his hating any one. He was even at times curiously oblivious to the strength of hostile emotions in other people ; I have seen him cheerfully reasoning with someone who was glowering with anger and resentment, apparently blandly ignoring the emotion and full of hope that a quiet exposition would change the situation. In controversy, even when heated, he would be unbending, but his temper never frayed. Abraham could please charmingly, help gladly and generously, love devotedly ; he could withstand stubbornly and fight valiantly ; but he could not hate. Consequently, though he occasionally excited criticism and opposition, he never provoked hatred : he had his opponents, and of course jealous rivals, but he had no enemies.

Abraham's profound sense of confidence was thus founded in the stability of his own mind. With his evenly balanced mental organization and his securely firm self-control, one inclining slightly even towards austerity, he could freely give rein to his innate tendencies, knowing they would only carry him the ways he desired. When we say that Abraham was a *normally developed* member of society, we are using words which, though cold to the uninitiated, are rich with significance for all psycho-analysts.

We can now see how inevitable it was that Abraham should be a leader in psycho-analysis, and why he was so successful in that position. His tireless energy and his demeanour of intrepid confidence, always fresh and unperturbed, were bracing to others and inspired them with the assurance necessary for accomplishing difficult tasks. His shrewd perspicacity enabled him to criticise in a peculiarly cool way any inaccuracies or exuberances and to exercise a steadying influence on the divagations of fancy. His constantly benevolent and at the same time impersonal attitude made it possible to convey such criticisms

without wounding or disheartening the person affected. His brightness and friendliness, aided by his general optimism, inclined him always to make prominent the best features of a colleague's work and, when commenting on it, insensibly to modify the weak features so as to present the work in the most favourable light. The result was that he always got the best out of his colleagues and pupils. And all the while it was plain to them that in Abraham they had a rallying point, a touchstone of objectivity, to which they rarely applied in vain.

This last feature leads us to what were, in my opinion, the most salient of all Abraham's valuable qualities—his fearlessness and his integrity. That he displayed a tenacious courage when ringed round with hostility in his lonely pioneering days is generally known, though it needs a similar experience fully to appreciate what that means. But few know that there were even more striking evidences of his courageous disregard for painful consequences; at more than one important juncture in his life I have known him risk the friendship of those very near to him by pursuing a course which seemed to him the only right one, even when he knew it was one that could readily lend itself to serious misinterpretation.

For integrity with Abraham came before everything else. Honesty of purpose was so built into his nature that he invariably and unhesitatingly did what he felt to be the only right thing, and he never swerved from his course. This high degree of integrity produced on those around him such a sense of certainty and security that they came to rely on him as on a rock. Amid the turmoils of personal emotions and the clash of discordant tendencies Abraham stood always firm, a central steadiness in the shifting eddies around. And this was his greatest value to psycho-analysis. Karl Abraham was in truth *un preux chevalier* of Science, *sans peur et sans reproche.*

Ernest Jones.

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20. Psychoanalyse eines Falles von Hysterie mit ungewöhnlichem Hervortreten der Inzestfixierung. *B.*, June 7.

21. Über sadistische Phantasien im Kindesalter (kasuistische Beiträge). *B.*, August 31.

22. Inzest und Inzestphantasien in neurotischen Familien. Kasuistische Mitteilungen über wirkliche Sexualbeziehungen innerhalb neurotischer Familien und über Krankheitssymptome auf der Basis der Inzestphantasien. *B.*, November 12.

23. Mitteilung zweier Œdipus-Träume. *B.*, December 8.

1911

24. Psychoanalyse einer Zwangsneurose. *B.*, February 9.

25. Einige Bemerkungen über den Mutterkultus und seine Symbolik in

der Individual- und Völkerpsychologie. *Z.*, Jahrg. I, Heft 12, September, S. 549–50.

*26. Die psychosexuelle Grundlage der Depressions- und Exaltationszustände. Third International Psycho-Analytical Congress, Weimar, September 21. (Abstract. *Z.*, Jahrg. II, Heft 2, November 1911, S. 101–2.) Published *in extenso* under the title: Ansätze zur psychoanalytischen Erforschung und Behandlung des manisch-depressiven Irreseins und verwandter Zustände. *Z.*, Jahrg. II, Heft 6, March 1912, S. 302–15.

27. Über die Beziehungen zwischen Perversion und Neurose. (Abstract of the first of Freud's "Drei Abhandlungen über die Sexualtheorie".) *B.*, October 30.

28. Über die determinierende Kraft des Namens. *Z.*, Jahrg. II, Heft 3, December 1911, S. 133–4.

29. Eine Traumanalyse bei Ovid. *Z.*, Jahrg. II, Heft 3, December 1911, S. 159–60.

*30. Giovanni Segantini: Ein psychoanalytischer Versuch. *Schriften zur angewandten Seelenkunde*, Heft 11, pp. 65. New enlarged edition, 1925. (Wien, Deuticke.) Russian Translation, 1913 (Odessa). Italian Translation, 1926.

1912

31. Aus der Analyse eines Falles von Grübelzwang. *B.*, March 14.

32. Über ein kompliziertes Zeremoniell neurotischer Frauen. *Z.*, Jahrg. II, Heft 8, May, S. 421–5.

33. Eine besondere Form sadistischer Träume (Massenmord-Träume). *B.*, May 18.

*34. Amenhotep IV (Echnaton). Psychoanalytische Beiträge zum Verständnis seiner Persönlichkeit und des monotheistischen Aton-Kultes. *B.*, July. *Imago*, Band I, Heft 4, S. 334–60.

35. Über neurotische Lichtscheu. *B.*, October.

1913

36. Psychosexuelle Wurzeln des neurotischen Kopfschmerzes. *B.*, February and March.

37. Sollen wir die Patienten ihre Träume aufschreiben lassen? *I.Z.*, Jahrg. I, Heft 2, March, S. 194–6.

38. Eine Deckerinnerung, betreffend ein Kindheitserlebnis von scheinbar ätiologischer Bedeutung. *I.Z.*, Jahrg. I, Heft 3, May, S. 247–51.

39. Zur Psychogenese der Strassenangst im Kindesalter. *I.Z.*, Jahrg. I, Heft 3, May, S. 256–7.

40. Einige Bemerkungen über die Rolle der Grosseltern in der Psychologie der Neurosen. *I.Z.*, Jahrg. I, Heft 3, May, S. 224–7.

41. Beobachtungen über die Beziehungen zwischen Nahrungstrieb und Sexualtrieb. *B.*, June.

42. Psychische Nachwirkungen der Beobachtung des elterlichen

Geschlechtsverkehrs bei einem neunjährigen Kinde. *I.Z.*, Jahrg. I, Heft 4, July, S. 364–6.

*43. Über Einschränkungen und Umwandlungen der Schaulust bei den Psychoneurotikern nebst Bemerkungen über analoge Erscheinungen in der Völkerpsychologie. Fourth International Psycho-Analytical Congress, Munich, September 7. (Includes No. 35.) *J.*, Band VI, 1914, S. 125–88.

44. Über eine konstitutionelle Grundlage der lokomotorischen Angst. *B.*, October. *I.Z.*, Jahrg. II, Heft 2, March 1914, S. 143–50.

45. Über neurotische Exogamie: Ein Beitrag zu den Übereinstimmungen im Seelenleben der Neurotiker und der Wilden. *B.*, November 8. *Imago*, Band III, Heft 6, S. 499–501.

46. Ohrmuschel und Gehörgang als erogene Zone. *B.*, December. *I.Z.*, Jahrg. II, Heft 1, March 1914, S. 27–9.

1914

47. Kritik zu C. G. Jung, Versuch einer Darstellung der psychoanalytischen Theorie. *B.*, January. *I.Z.*, Jahrg. II, Heft 1, January, S. 72–82.

48. Zur Bedeutung der Analerotik. *B.*, February.

49. Zum Verständnis ' suggestiver ' Arzneiwirkungen bei neurotischen Zuständen. *I.Z.*, Jahrg. II, Heft 4, July, S. 377–8.

50. Eigentümliche Formen der Gattenwahl, besondere Inzucht und Exogamie. Ärztliche Gesellschaft für Sexualwissenschaft, Berlin, July 3.

51. Spezielle Pathologie und Therapie der nervösen Zustände und der Geistesstörungen. (Collective Review.) *J.*, Band VI, 1914, S. 343–63.

1916

*52. Untersuchungen über die früheste prägenitale Entwicklungsstufe der Libido. *I.Z.*, Jahrg. IV, Heft 2, S. 71–97.

1917

53. Einige Belege zur Gefühlseinstellung weiblicher Kinder gegenüber den Eltern. *I.Z.*, Jahrg. IV, Heft 3, S. 154–5.

*54. Über Ejaculatio præcox. *I.Z.*, Jahrg. IV, Heft 4, S. 171–86.

55. Das Geldausgeben im Angstzustand. *I.Z.*, Jahrg. IV, Heft 5, S. 252–3.

1918

56. Dreikäsehoch. Zur Psychoanalyse des Wortwitzes. *Imago*, Band V, Heft 4, S. 294–5.

57. Zur Psychoanalyse der Kriegsneurosen: Contribution to the Discussion on War Neuroses at the Fifth International Psycho-Analytical Congress, Budapest, September 28. Published with Contributions by Prof. Dr. Sigm. Freud, Dr. S. Ferenczi, Dr. Ernst Simmel, and Dr. Ernest Jones, as No. 1 of the *Internationale Psychoanalytische Bibliothek*, S. 31–41. (Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1919.) English Translation, International Psycho-Analytical Press, 1921).

1919

*58. Über eine besondere Form des neurotischen Widerstandes gegen die psychoanalytische Methodik. *B.*, February 6. *I.Z.*, Jahrg. V, Heft 3, October, S. 173–80.

59. Tiertotemismus. *B.*, March 16.

60. Über den weiblichen Kastrationskomplex. *B.*, April 17.

61. Bemerkungen zu Ferenczi's Mitteilung über "Sonntagsneurosen." *I.Z.*, Jahrg. V, Heft 3, October, S. 203–4.

62. Zur Prognose psychoanalytischer Behandlungen in vorgeschrittenem Lebensalter. *B.*, November 6. *I.Z.*, Jahrg. VI, Heft 2, June 1920, S. 113–7.

63. Zur narzistischen Bewertung der Exkretionsvorgänge in Traum und Neurose. *B.*, December 18. *I.Z.*, Jahrg. VI, Heft 1, March 1920, S. 64–7.

1920

64. Der Versöhnungstag. Comments on Reik's "Probleme der Religionspsychologie." *Imago*, Band VI, Heft 1, S. 80–90.

65. Paper read before the University Clinic, Halle, July 10.

66. Über die Sexualität des Kindes. Ärztliche Gesellschaft für Sexualwissenschaft, Berlin, May 21. *Archiv für Frauenkunde* (Sexualwissenschaftliches Beiheft), Band VI, 1920, Heft 3/4, S. 278 *et seq.*

*67. Äusserungsformen des weiblichen Kastrationskomplexes. Sixth International Psycho-Analytical Congress, The Hague, September 8. (Abstract, *I.Z.*, Jahrg. VI, S. 391–2.) Published *in extenso*: *I.Z.*, Jahrg. VII, Heft 4, December 1921, S. 422–52. (*I.J.*, Vol. III, pp. 1–29.)

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69. Die Psychoanalyse als Erkenntnisquelle für die Geisterwissenschaften. *Die neue Rundschau*, Jahrg. 31 of the *Freien Bühne*, October, Heft 10, S. 1154–74.

1921

70. Ergänzung zur Lehre vom Analcharakter. *B.*, January 20. *I.Z.*, Jahrg. IX, Heft 1, March 1923, S. 27–47. (*I.J.*, Vol. IV, pp. 400–18.)

71. Zwei Fehlhandlungen einer Hebephrenen. *I.Z.*, Jahrg. VII, Heft 2, June, S. 208.

72. Beitrag zur "Tic-Diskussion." *B.*, June 2. *I.Z.*, Jahrg. VII, Heft 3, October, S. 393–5.

73. Spezielle Pathologie und Therapie der Neurosen und Psychosen. (Collective Review with Dr. J. Hárnik.) "Bericht über die Fortschritte der Psychoanalyse in den Jahren 1914–1919", S. 141–63. (Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1921.) (*I.J.*, Vol. I, pp. 280–5.)

74. Literatur in spanischer Sprache. "Bericht über die Fortschritte der Psychoanalyse in den Jahren 1914–1919", S. 366–7. (Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1921.) (*I.J.*, Vol. I, pp. 457–8.)

75. Klinische Beiträge zur Psychoanalyse aus den Jahren 1907–1920. Includes the above-mentioned numbers 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, 26, 28, 32,

37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 52, 53, 54, 55, 58, 61, 62, 63. *Internationale Psychoanalytische Bibliothek*, No. 10. (Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1921. English translation in preparation.)

1922

*76. Vaterrettung und Vatermord in den neurotischen Phantasiengebilden. *I.Z.*, Jahrg. VIII, Heft 1, March, S. 71–77. (*I.J.*, Vol. III, pp. 467–74.)

77. Paper read before a psycho-analytical circle in Leipzig, May 27.

78. Über Fehlleistung mit überkompensierender Tendenz. *I.Z.*, Jahrg. VIII, Heft 3, October, S. 345–8. (*I.J.*, Vol. V, pp. 197–200.)

79. Fehlleistung eines Achtzigjährigen. *I.Z.*, Jahrg. VIII, Heft 3, October, S. 350. (*I.J.*, Vol. IV, p. 479.)

80. Die Spinne als Traumsymbol. *I.Z.*, Jahrg. VIII, Heft 4, December, S. 470–5. (*I.J.*, Vol. IV, pp. 313–17.)

81. Neue Untersuchungen zur Psychologie der manisch-depressiven Zustände. Seventh International Psycho-Analytical Congress, Berlin, September 27. (Abstract: *I.Z.*, Jahrg. VIII, S. 492–3.)

1923

82. Zwei Beiträge zur Symbolforschung: Zur symbolischen Bedeutung der Dreizahl; Der "Dreiweg" in der Œdipus-sage. *Imago*, Band IX, Heft 1, S. 122–6.

83. Eine infantile Theorie von der Entstehung des weiblichen Geschlechtes. *I.Z.*, Jahrg. IX, Heft 1, March, S. 75–6.

84. Die Wiederkehr primitiver religiöser Vorstellungen im Phantasienleben des Kindes. Oriental Department of the University, Hamburg, March 3.

85. Kastrationsphantasien bei zwei kleinen Knaben. *B.*, March 13.

86. Der Kastrationskomplex in der Analyse eines Bisexuellen. *B.*, March 13.

87. Anfänge und Entwicklung der Objektliebe. *B.*, March 27.

88. Zum Introjektionsvorgang bei Homosexualität. *B.*, May 8.

89. (With Dr. Helene Deutsch) Über Phantasien der Kastration durch Beissen. *B.*, June 5.

90. Aus der Analyse eines Asthmatikers. *B.*, June 30.

91. Ein Beitrag zur Psychologie der Melancholie. *B.*, June 30.

92. Ein Beitrag zur Prüfungssituation im Traume. *B.*, June 30.

93. Psycho-Analytic Views on some Characteristics of Early Infantile Thinking. Seventh International Congress of Psychology, Oxford, July 31. *Proceedings and Papers of the Congress*, pp. 263–7 (German) (Cambridge University Press, 1924). *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, Vol. III, Part 4, 1923, pp. 283–7 (English).

94. Zwei neue kindliche Sexualtheorien. *B.*, November 6.

95. Die Geschichte eines Hochstaplers im Lichte psychoanalytischer Erkenntnis. *B.*, November 13. *Imago*, Band XI, Heft 4, 1925, S. 355–370.

96. Zur Symbolik des Hauses, besonder des Neubaus. *B.*, December 4. (Abstract: *I.Z.*, Jahrg. X, Heft 1, March 1924, S. 107.)

1924

97. Über unbewusste Strömungen im Verhältnis der Eltern zum Kinde. Paper read in Hamburg, January 5.

98. Umwandlungsvorgänge am Œdipuskomplex im Laufe einer Psychoanalyse. *B.*, March 29.

99. Beiträge der Oralerotik zur Charakterbildung. Eighth International Psycho-Analytical Congress, Salzburg, April 21. (Abstract: *I.Z.*, Jahrg. X, S. 214.). (*I.J.*, Vol. VI, pp. 247–58.)

100. Über die Psychologie der modernen Kunstrichtungen. Paper read before an Art Circle in Berlin.

101. Zur Charakterbildung auf der ' genitalen ' Entwicklungestufe. *B.*, September 23.

102. Analyse einer Zwangsneurose. First German Psycho-Analytical Congress, Würzburg, October 12.

103. Über eine weitere Determinante der Vorstellung des zu kleinen Penis. *B.*, October 21.

104. Phantasien der Patienten über den Abschluss der Analyse. *B.* November 11.

1925

*105. Versuch einer Entwicklungsgeschichte der Libido auf Grund der Psychoanalyse seelischer Störungen. [1. *Teil:* Die manisch-depressiven Zustände und die prägenitalen Organisationsstufe der Libido. Einleitung. 1. Melancholie und Zwangsneurose. Zwei Stufen der sadistisch-analen Entwicklungsphase der Libido. 2. Objektverlust und Introjektion in der normalen Trauer und in abnormen psychischen Zuständen. 3. Der Introjektionsvorgang in der Melancholie. Zwei Stufen der oralen Entwicklungsphase der Libido. 4. Beiträge zur Psychogenese der Melancholie. 5. Das infantile Vorbild der melancholischen Depression. 6. Die Manie, 7. Die psychoanalytische Therapie der manisch-melancholischen Zustände (Includes Nos. 81 and 91.) 11. *Teil.* Anfänge und Entwicklung der Objektliebe (corresponds to No. 87).] *Neue Arbeiten zur ärztlichen Psychoanalyse.* Heft 11, pp. 96. (Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag.)

*106. Psychoanalytische Studien zur Charakterbildung. [Contains the above-mentioned Nos. 70 and 99. Further: Zur Charakterbildung auf der ' genitalen ' Entwicklungsstufe. (*I.J.*, Vol. VII, Part 2)]. *Internationale Psychoanalytische Bibliothek*, No. XVI, pp. 64. (Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag.)

107. Zur Verdrängung des Œdipuskomplexes. *B.*, January 20.

108. Paper read before a Psycho-Analytical Circle in Leipzig, February 21.

109. Die Bedeutung von Wortbrücken für die neurotische Symptombildung. *B.*, February 26.

110. Eine unbeachtete kindliche Sexualtheorie. *I.Z.*, Jahrg. XI, Heft 1, March, S. 85–7. (*I.J.*, Vol. VI, pp. 444–6.)

111. Psychoanalyse und Gynäkologie. Gesellschaft für Gynäkologie und Geburtshilfe, Berlin, March 13. (Abstract: *I.Z.*, Jahrg. XI, S. 126.). *Zeitschrift für Geburtshilfe und Gynäkologie*, Bd. LXXXIX, S. 451–8.

112. Koinzidierende Phantasien bei Mutter und Sohn. *I.Z.*, Jahrg. XI, Heft 2, June, S. 222. (*I.J.*, Vol. VII, p. 79.)

113. Die Psychoanalyse schizophrener Zustände. Leidsche Vereeniging voor Psychopathologie en Psychoanalyse, Leyden, May 27 and 29.

114. Das hysterische Symptom. Nederlandsche Maatschappy ter Bevordering der Geneeskunst, Hague, May 28.

115. Psychoanalytische Bemerkungen zu Coué's Verfahren der Selbstmeisterung. *I.Z.*, Jahrg. XII., Heft 2. (*I.J.*, Vol. VII, Part 2.)

ORIGINAL PAPERS

PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL NOTES ON COUÉ'S METHOD OF SELF-MASTERY.[1]

BY

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In the course of the last few years we have been witnesses of the enthusiastic reception which has been accorded to a new therapeutic method, by means of which it is alleged that any and every person can become able to free himself by his own efforts, not only from ill-health, but from ethical shortcomings and from the effects of adverse circumstances. A promise of this kind would probably have found a great number of enthusiastic adherents at any time. But the devastating mental effects of the Great War rendered people more than ever prepared to accept with faith and gratitude a new message of salvation. The enormous number of people to whom the war had brought suffering in one form or another helped to throng the halls in which the doctrine of 'self-mastery' was expounded. The method was so simple that every person, no matter what his mental capacity was, could apply it after he had received a few instructions. Astonishing results were reported; and what aroused especial interest were accounts of the cure of organic diseases by this new mode of auto-suggestion.

On the other hand voices were raised in adverse criticism; but these did not shake the faith of Coué's supporters. As we might imagine, they came for the most part from the camp of academic medicine. Three main objections to Coué and his school were brought forward by them.

In the first place it was argued that the healing of organic disease by means of self-mastery was an impossibility; and that reports of such successes could only be due to imperfect observation or want of critical reflection. In the second place, his system of 'group-therapy' was attacked on the grounds that it took no account of the individual as a separate case and did not indeed trouble to make a preliminary examination of him. It was pointed out that it was a gross error, for instance, to treat a mental disorder, a pulmonary tuberculosis, an

[1] [From a MS. found among Dr. Abraham's papers after his death. The article is unfinished, as the author had intended to make various additions to it—especially in the last part—which were never carried out.—ED.]

eye-disease and a cancer all together without any distinction. Persons who were led to believe that they could be cured in this way often ran the risk of putting off medical treatment—perhaps a vital operation—until it was too late. In the third place, the principal technique of Coué's system of 'self-mastery', which consisted in *a formula* to be spoken in a special way and repeated a definite number of times, aroused violent opposition. It was not difficult to throw ridicule on it by comparing it to a magical incantation and to other relics of superstitious belief.

We psycho-analysts will not, I think, make the mistake of adopting without reservation the views of either side. We can scarcely identify ourselves with those of Coué's enthusiasts. Our daily work with our neurotic patients—and these after all form a great part of Coué's adherents—has given us the firm impression that the curing of nervous conditions is no easy task. Success depends upon the amount of mental resistance present in the patient, and it is hard to believe that resistances which cause us so many difficulties can simply dissolve before a mere formula of suggestion. When the formula states that every day in every way the patient will get better and better, it is not saying anything different from ordinary allo-suggestion, in which the neurotic is assured that he will get rid of his troubles. But we know that all that is effected *there* is that the process of repression at work in the patient is reinforced. Thus we are inclined to believe that an auto-suggestion of the same kind will also only patch up his illness in a temporary way. Nevertheless we shall admit that even a brief respite from his troubles will often be very acceptable and beneficial to the patient. And if it is obtainable by such easy and rapid means he can hardly be expected not to be eager to employ them.

The further criticisms which we have to make about Coué's method from a psycho-analytic standpoint will become evident in the course of the present analytic examination of it. Nevertheless we have no cause to congratulate his chief opponents, especially his medical critics. They have often enough made us the object of their condescending criticisms and their *a priori* counter-arguments. Our work with neurotic patients has led us to adopt certain views to which they have remained hostile; I refer to our belief that the unconscious mind exercises a great influence on the origin, course and cure of organic illnesses. We must never lose sight of this fact, even though we do not push our views to such an extreme as Groddeck does. The following instance is very instructive in this connection: a particular case of

partial recovery from tuberculosis through Coué's method was designated as ' incredible ' by his critics. And this term was probably a euphemism at that, for they would no doubt have preferred to call such allegations a downright fraud. Suppose we assume that a consumptive patient had strong psychological reasons for opposing his recovery, and that his unconscious made use of the organic disease to deprive him gradually of life. If now—whether by the method of ' self-mastery ' or otherwise—this process is checked, then what had before been impossible becomes possible : i.e. that all the physical and mental powers of the individual combine to bring about his recovery. Supposing that Coué's method did succeed in checking the activity of the death-instincts, then a recovery from an organic disease could quite well be the result. We shall therefore view the objections of academic medicine with the scepticism they deserve.

We shall not be further concerned with the first of the three objections brought forward from the medical side. As analysts we are much more interested in the two others. Actually what we have to consider are the problems connected with the *dynamics* of Coué's method ; but we shall best be able to establish our line of enquiry by starting from those two other critical objections.

The first of these was directed against patients being treated *en masse* without regard to their numbers or to the difference of their affections and requirements. We need not discuss here how far this objection is justified in the interests of those in need of treatment ; for the point which is being made is one that does not concern psycho-analysis, but medical treatment purely in its social aspect. Psycho-analysts will feel called upon to study Coué's method of group-treatment from quite another angle. There can be no doubt that the success of his method—or at any rate, the effects of the ' fascination ' it produces —is a phenomenon of ' group-psychology.' Thanks to the knowledge which Freud has given us [2] on this subject we may expect to be able to show on psycho-analytical lines how Coué's method is able to have an effect on an indefinite number of people. When we consider in particular the successful results of his method, it would seem incumbent on us to investigate the pharmaco-dynamics of his famous curative technique. We can begin doing this without any preparatory discussion, since we have only to base our line of enquiry on Freud's discoveries. We are able to say of Coué (or Baudouin or whoever is his

[2] *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* (1921).

representative) that he is a *leader* about whom is collected a *group* of people. What we have to do is to give a psychological account of the effects of the special relation existing between such a leader and his followers.

The third objection was that Coué's suggestion or auto-suggestion was clothed in a kind of magic formula which was the same for all. Instead of adopting an attitude of scientific superiority and ridiculing this fact we shall consider whether our psychological knowledge can enable us to understand the efficacy of a uniform method of this kind.

In other words, we shall endeavour to analyse the dynamics of Coué's technique, and shall make that technique the subject of our investigations. That we have a right to do so is undoubted; we are no less prepared to examine our own methods of work from an analytic point of view. Some time ago, for example, at a meeting of the Berlin Psycho-Analytical Society, Frau Dr. Horney spoke about the analysis of the analyst; and her paper as well as the discussion that followed tried to discover the hidden motives behind our work that actuate us alongside the conscious rational ones.

Psycho-analytic literature provides us with a basis for an investigation of this kind of Coué's technique, and three authors in especial have written about it. Ferenczi, in his 'Introjection and Transference' (1908),[3] made a first venture into the unknown region of hypnosis and suggestion. He laid special stress on the affective attachment of the hypnotized person to the hypnotist and recognized this attachment to be an expression of the Œdipus complex. We need not go more closely into Ferenczi's discoveries, since in this connection we are only indirectly interested in hypnosis as applied to a single individual; moreover, we can assume that Ferenczi's paper forms part of the body of psycho-analytic knowledge and is familiar to every analyst.

In his *Group Psychology*, Freud greatly advanced our knowledge of the subject. He threw a light on the relations between a 'leader' and his followers, not only within a 'group', in the ordinary sense of a collection of persons, but in a 'group of two'—that is on the affective (libidinal) relation subsisting between the hypnotist and the hypnotized person. He furthermore threw very extensive light upon the processes that go on in the ego of the latter. His postulation of an 'ego-ideal' (super-ego) has proved to be absolutely necessary for a complete explanation of many psychological processes. I shall return

[3] *Contributions to Psycho-Analysis.*

in a moment to the consideration of those discoveries of Freud which have a special importance for us here.

In the third place we must mention a study which has a very direct bearing on our subject. This is that of Ernest Jones,[4] who, basing his enquiries on the two works mentioned above, has studied the most important problems of auto-suggestion. As he deals with the works of Coué and Baudouin in several places we shall have occasion to refer to his article more than once.

Let us now call to mind a few important principles laid down by Freud in his *Group Psychology*. Suggestibility, according to him, is a manifestation of one person's libidinal attachment to another who represents to him in his unconscious either his father or his mother. In consequence of such an attachment, each individual of a group follows and obeys his leader, and lets him assume the position of his ego-ideal. Thus in a certain sense the members of a group have a common super-ego. They are allied to one another by reciprocal identification. This identification serves to strengthen the suggestive influence which their leader exercises over them, so that each individual becomes, as a member of a group, more open to that influence. His affectivity is increased and freed from certain restraints; and his intellectual capacities, in particular his power of judgement, are diminished. He feels within himself the strength of the whole group, and tends to express his self-overrated powers in the form of phantasies of omnipotence.

We shall start from the assumption that the followers of a 'healer' of this kind form a group, whether they are unknown to one another and merely happen to be present together at a meeting, or whether they form an organized following. But the particular case we are dealing with exhibits certain peculiarities. In other group-formations the relations of the individual to his leader are clearly defined. In this case it is not so. We find adherents of Coué who have perhaps only read something the leader has written and who nevertheless have the same kind of attachment to him and to his doctrine as the rest who have regularly attended his meetings. How can such an indirect contact with the leader produce a powerful attachment of this sort? In other words, how can such widely differing circumstances give rise to a similar relation between the followers and their leader—a similarity which, in

[4] 'The Nature of Auto-Suggestion', *The British Journal of Medical Psychology*, Vol. III, Part 3, 1923.

accordance with Freud, we hold to be an important criterion of the existence of a group ?

The answer to this question is, I think, not far to seek. Within the group the fiction is maintained that the leader loves each individual equally, so that he stands for a just father. In the case of Coué this is true in a special manner. He gives one and all—regardless of who they are and what they are suffering from—the same invariable formula : ' Every day, in every way, I am getting better and better '.

He does in truth give each one as much—or if one prefers it, as little—as the other. But he is not only a *just* father to all his children. He also plays the part attributed to a father by primitive races ; he possesses the powerful *mana* ; he can banish all ills with a formula ; he is a typical possessor of the omnipotence of thoughts, and a master of the magic of words. And now the possessor of this *mana* does something quite unexpected, something which makes him different from other ' fathers '.

The leader of an army, of a religious sect or of a political party has to maintain his authority. Between him and the group there are placed certain favoured persons, to whom he delegates a part of his power. But these persons are no less bound to obey him than the least of his followers. In the ' group of two ' the hypnotizer must be no less jealous of his power ; in one way or another the relation always remains that of one who commands towards one who obeys, one who is strong to one who is weak. But in the case of Coué it is otherwise. Coué allows each person without distinction to enjoy an equal share of his *mana*. He makes over his magic formula to each one and instructs him in the use of it. In the language of psycho-analysis we should say that he allows every one to behave as though he were Coué himself. He is a father who allows all his sons to identify themselves completely with him, not only in thought but in deed, by actually requiring them to take over his *mana* and make use of it.

Thus when a person goes for the first time to a Coué meeting, prepared to become merged in the group of his followers and to set the leader in the place of his super-ego, he finds himself in receipt of a gift which will be especially gratifying to his unconscious. For that gift is ultimately a fulfilment of infantile wishes belonging to his Œdipus complex. He is authorized to put himself on an equality with his father. What this implies is best realized if we call to mind what Freud says about relations between the primal father and his sons. For his views concerning group-psychology are intimately bound up

with the theory of the primal horde. What Coué does can be expressed in terms of the primal horde situation somewhat as follows : The primal father one day allows his sons to share his power and his functions while he is still alive. As Freud has so convincingly shown, this is not only a question of his power of life and death or of material possessions, but of his sexual privileges. When his sons are allowed to share his power and his rights it implies that he has removed the sexual barriers—that is, the incest-barrier—which he had till then imposed upon them.

Of course the liberties that Coué grants to his followers do not in fact, as far as his own consciousness and theirs is concerned, approach this extreme in the remotest degree. But we analysts whose first duty it is to think of the unconscious must keep our eyes open. To all appearances the school of Coué and his doctrine has no libidinal basis whatever. And yet we should expect to find the same libidinal attachment here as in other cases, since according to Freud such an attachment underlies every kind of group-formation. Nevertheless we must admit that the superficial impression is quite different. The contact between Coué and each individual follower is quite impersonal, in contrast to that which exists between the hypnotist and his patient. And it is at this point that we can go a step further towards explaining the great fascination exercised by his method. Our first advance was the discovery that each disciple was gratified by the reception of a share of his leader's *mana*. Each one of the sons gratefully acknowledges the goodness and justice of the father. But—we must add—none would be able to enjoy the gift if he became conscious of the libidinal nature of his attachment. We now see that Coué's technique safeguards them from becoming conscious of it in a peculiarly successful way, much more successfully than is the case in hypnosis, for instance. In what I am now going to say I am endorsing the views expressed by Dr. Ernest Jones in his very interesting study. The technique of auto-suggestion does not make the patient nearly so conscious of his transference as is the case in allo-suggestion. In hypnosis, it is is true, the patient does not necessarily become aware of the erotic nature of his transference to the hypnotist, but frequently enough this does in fact happen. Even when there is no physical contact between the two an erotic *rapport* is very easily established and is manifested in the patient's bodily sensations, in his day-dreams and in his dreams at night. As we know, the situation of being hypnotized is equivalent in phantasy to 'sleeping with' the hypnotist in a sexual sense. By going in for a self-administered form of suggestion the patient avoids being conscious

of any such mental processes. Added to this there is the fact that hundreds of others are receiving the same treatment, so that there is no danger of his having any feeling that he is engaged in any personal erotic relation. As Jones has correctly observed, the physician on his side is spared the same displeasurable feelings as his patient. He has shown that a great number of well-known medical men who were formerly advocates of hypnosis have since taken up waking suggestion in preference to it, because they were made uncomfortable by the phenomena of transference that occurred in hypnosis.

We have already said that in Coué's method each patient receives a gift from him, as it were, of a measure of omnipotence. Each man's ego is raised in its own esteem, for it has become able to put an end to all its troubles. In the particular case of neurotic patients the fact that their attention is focussed on this increase of the power of the ego also means that it is drawn away from contemplating the sexual forces which lurk behind their neurosis. Thus we might say that Coué's system represents a flight from hypnosis with its more obvious erotic character, just as Adler's system was an attempt to remodel Freud's theory of the libido in an ego-syntonic sense by over-accentuating the ego's desire for power.

If we follow up Jones' line of thought a little further, we find that this psychological process becomes still more striking. In throwing open the road to auto-suggestion to a whole group, the physician enjoys the sense of omnipotence of the hypnotist in a specially high degree. He finds himself exerting power over an unlimited number of persons, whereas the hypnotist only exerts it over a relative few. We might say that the ordinary hypnotist experiences this feeling of power *intensively* in connection with single individuals, and that Coué does so in an *extensive* way by influencing large groups of persons.

We must return once more to this feeling of power which Coué's system gives his patient; only then shall we completely understand how this narcissistic gratification can enable him to banish from consciousness those prohibited object-relations which were trying to find an outlet in his neurotic symptoms. There are two points of view which seem to me noteworthy in this connection.

We know how very apt illness is to set in motion a narcissistic regression of a person's libido, and, as an inevitable consequence of this, to cause him to over-estimate his own body. The patient who sees his salvation in Coué's method gets the feeling that his own misfortune is no greater than other people's, for he can be healed in the same way

as they, by means of one and the same form of auto-suggestion. Thus the emphasis is displaced from the exceptional severity of his illness on to his miraculous power of self-influence. That this is so is shown by the designation of his method as ' self-mastery '. By this I do not wish to imply anything about the actual efficacy of the method. I am concerned, here and elsewhere in this study, with the manifest and latent *tendencies* inherent in it. We shall preserve throughout our non-committal attitude as to its actual therapeutic value. The nature of the effect we have just described is purely a consolatory one. It may act in this case and not in that ; or it may be permanent in one person and transient in another.

The second point to be considered in this connection is also concerned with the neurotic subject. We know that many of our patients complain very particularly of their feelings of inferiority and use them as a façade behind which the main part of their neurosis is concealed. Adler agrees with Janet in according the great possible significance to this sense of inferiority in the psychology of the neuroses. It is the complement of what he calls the ' masculine protest '. The whole of the instinctual forces contained in the neurosis find ego-syntonic expression in this latter aspect of it. In Coué's method we clearly see a tendency to do away with every kind of inferiority, real or imaginary, by an optimistic denial of its existence. Coué's auto-suggestive formula has, in a sense, crystallized Adler's ' masculine protest ' into a stereotyped series of words.

At this point we should bring to mind the position from which we set out on our enquiries. This was the objections made by medical men who were concerned to know how anyone could expect to effect a cure in a reasonable person, in full possession of his powers of judgement, by presenting him, regardless of the nature of his sufferings, and in company with an indefinite number of other sick people, with a stereotyped form of auto-suggestion of the kind Coué employs, and then leaving him to do the rest for himself. We can now see that the objection is not valid because it does not take psychology into account.

The effect of Coué's method actually *depends on* the fact that the individual who comes to be cured is transformed into a member of a group. In this way he actually becomes credulous and suggestible, i.e. he loses the faculty of critical judgement and is inclined to become mentally on the same level with the other members of the group. And now we can understand why it is not only the poor in spirit but precisely the intellectual class who flock in crowds to Coué and take up

his method. So many who belong to that class are forced to transform a large part of their libido into intellectual or artistic activities and, in doing so, to struggle against severe resistances. In playing the part, for the time, of being only members of a group they get a temporary respite from their hard task. In reply to the objections of medical men, we can say that Coué's system is effective not *in spite* of the fact that it employs such ' simple ' means, but *because* it does so. It is precisely because it turns the individual into a member of a group, thus entailing a lowering of his intellectual level, that it obtains its effect of ' fascination ' and achieves practical results, in so far as these do occur. Its success is due to the peculiar way in which it deals with the Œdipus complex. It directly charges the patient to identify himself with his ' father ' and to become possessed of a part of his *mana*, without divulging the libidinal character of that act.

In saying that the necessary condition for the success of Coué's method is that the individual should be transformed into a member of a group, we are keeping close to Freud's view. In his *Group Psychology* he says ' where a powerful impetus has been given to group-formation neuroses may diminish and at all events temporarily disappear ' (p. 124). The experiences of the late war supply us with evidence of this. Contrary to the view commonly held, it was found that quite a number of neurotics lost their symptoms as soon as they joined the army, especially the fighting units. I will relate one very curious case of this sort. A young man was suffering from the most severe symptoms of *folie du doute* and brooding mania. In his business life the simplest transactions, such as buying or selling some article, became the source of endless doubt and self-torment, and these linked up with and affected every decision he had to take. But no sooner had he joined the army than all his miseries ended. Having become an insignificant fraction of the huge machine of the army, he was no longer obliged to decide anything for himself, but belonged to a group whose only function was to obey. For several years he was fighting in the worst parts of the French front, exposed to the heaviest fire, and often kept for days together underground. During the last months of the war he was an English prisoner. He was able to face this situation as well. After the end of the war he came home and took up his profession again. His old symptoms immediately returned. He came to see me again on this account and said, ' You'll see, in a short time, my whole four-and-a-half-years of good health will have gone '. He had ceased to be a member of a group, and he came to grief when he once more had to take up a separate

existence and be responsible for his own actions. Exactly as Freud described above, he had experienced a temporary remission of his neurosis. As soon as he ceased to be an atom in a greater whole he succumbed to his old neurotic disturbances once more.

So far we have been endeavouring to understand the influence exerted by Coué on his patients; we must now approach another problem, that of how the auto-suggestion itself comes to take effect. It is true that we have already seen that each patient is explicitly authorized to identify himself with his leader, and is ready to do so because he has strong unconscious motives that encourage a reaction of that kind. But this does not explain everything. It still remains a puzzle why such a large number of patients are so ready to give up a thing which usually appears so important to them on rational grounds and which also brings with it a fairly obvious pleasure-gain for them. I refer to the personal relation of the individual to his physician, whose medical care and human sympathy is as a rule so essential to the patient. We find instead the strange fact that a large number of persons renounce these advantages and instead withdraw into privacy and recite their auto-suggestive formula the prescribed number of times. It is evident that we have not yet got to the bottom of the patient's state of mind when he undergoes group-treatment. And now our interest is quite naturally drawn in a particular direction. For when we consider that the super-ego of each patient is identified with his leader, then it becomes evident that that portion of his libido which was directed towards it now flows towards the leader. That is to say, we have before us a process of a narcissistic nature. At this point I should like to return to the views put forward by Jones concerning auto-suggestion.

If we turn our attention to the behaviour of the neurotic person, as being of especial interest to us, we soon discover that in every case there is some disturbance of his libidinal relations to the external world—of what we call his object-love. Psycho-analysis shows that these persons are attached to certain objects belonging to their childhood and that the incest-barrier has later precluded them from retaining those objects in real life. Their libido is inhibited in respect of objects which are permissible, and their sexual instincts find expression for the most part in phantasies, day-dreams, etc., and in pathological symptoms which we have recognized as derivatives of those phantasies. Neurotic states vary very much in the degree of the person's estrangement from the external world; but we can detect in every one of them

a retrograde movement of the libido which detaches it from objects and tends to carry it back to its infantile, narcissistic adhesion to the ego. And it is precisely this regressive tendency which the process of auto-suggestion furthers. Hypnosis cultivates an infantile attachment on the part of the subject towards his hypnotist, who stands for his father (or mother, as the case may be). Coué's method of auto-suggestion allows the subject to regress still further by encouraging him, as has been seen, to identify himself with him in a way that corresponds to a still earlier age. In place of an infantile form of object-love the subject develops a narcissistic attitude of his libido towards his ego.

A libidinal attitude of this kind enables primitive ideas such as the belief in the omnipotence of thoughts to be revived again. In hypnosis the subject ascribes this omnipotence to his father-surrogate, just as he used to do at a certain period of his childhood, at a time when the development of his libido, the growth of his intellectual powers and the increase of his experience had made him more critical about himself and had caused him to give up his belief in his own omnipotence, and to displace it on to his parents. This displacement of course implies an incomplete relinquishing of his belief, for the fact that his parents possess that omnipotence leaves him the hope that he may one day acquire what he has not at present got. In hypnosis the individual behaves like a child in this stage of development. But in the practice of auto-suggestion he is induced to go back to the belief in his own omnipotence. In his paper on 'Stages of Development in the Sense of Reality',[5] Ferenczi has shown in some detail how the behaviour of a child typically expresses its narcissistic attitude to the external world and its belief in the omnipotence of its desires. It employs every means in its power to convey its commands to the external world; it makes use of words, gestures and the peculiarly primitive form of speech we call 'organ-speech', all of which are invested, in its eyes, with magical power. Coué not only permits his followers but commands them to express their sense of power in a formula whose magical character is indisputable. The objection that the child does after all direct its magical methods towards its objects, whereas Coué's followers direct their formula towards themselves, is easily answered. For in their case the super-ego, which is identified with Coué, takes up a position towards the ego proper as though it were another person. Moreover, what is happening is that this act of exorcism, like all such acts, is intended to banish or

[5] Ferenczi (1913), *Contributions to Psycho-Analysis.*

overcome certain forces which are regarded by the ego as foreign to itself and imposed on it from outside.

As the experience of the last few years has shown, there are a great number of people who are only too eager to make this regression to a lower level of development if they are recommended to do so from an authoritative quarter. For they are thus able to enjoy a certain licence of an infantile nature without having a sense of guilt. This absence of a sense of guilt is increased by the fact that each member of the group feels that the other members are doing the same as he ; and what is done together is done with a common responsibility, so that each separate person feels himself at least partly relieved of that sense of guilt which he would not have been able to endure alone. Freud was the first to point out this factor, in connection with the totem-feast as a representation of the killing and eating of the primal father done in common by his rebellious sons. But this sense of guilt in each individual will disappear still more completely when that common act takes place actually under the directions of an ideal father, who thus takes over every responsibility, and when the purpose of that act—getting well—affords the critical and moral functionary of a person's mind, his conscience, no grounds for interference.

In this place we may remark that quite a number of people find themselves unable to join in Coué's movement on account of conscientious scruples. To the religious mind Coué's procedure seems too much like shaking off the yoke of a humble subjection to the will of God ; and from its point of view the above-described attribution of omnipotent powers to oneself is an act of blasphemy. It is only logical that Christian Science, which employs prayer for therapeutic purposes, should reject Couéism as ' unchristian '.

We will not dwell any longer on this aspect of our subject, but will return to the psychological problems connected with it. As we have seen, every member of a group puts the leader in the place of his super-ego. But we have furthermore seen that in Coué's system each member identifies himself with his leader in virtue of a special power. The result of the whole process can be stated quite simply in psychological terms. Basing ourselves on the views of Freud and Jones, we can say that the tension between the super-ego, which makes certain claims upon the ego, and the ego itself, which has to satisfy them, is to some extent removed. By getting back a certain amount of his infantile ' omnipotence ' the individual achieves a relative ' abrogation of his ego-ideal ', as Freud has described it in his *Group Psychology*, the extent of which

has still to be ascertained. What Freud says about it is mostly in connection with the psychology of mania. In melancholia what happens is that in consequence of a loss of his object the individual introjects it into his ego. That part of the super-ego which makes moral judgements now appears to be directed against the ego, whereas in reality all its harsh criticisms are aimed at the lost and introjected object. In mania, on the other hand, the functions of the super-ego are suspended for a time, and the ego enjoys a much-desired freedom and is raised in its own esteem. This process takes place in a small way under the influence of Coué's method. It is accompanied by a raising of the subject's self-esteem, and it makes him feel in better health and more capable of taking action and feeling enjoyment. Nevertheless we can find great differences, not merely of degree, between this effect and the wild frenzy of liberation felt by the maniacal patient. In our case the revolutionary element is absent, since everything happens with the approval of the father. And what is actually done is only to say over a harmless formula—a very different matter from committing the many excesses of the maniacal patient—the effects of which, even in the most successful cases, only extend over a limited field of the person's life. And it is all done, as we have seen, on the understanding that sexual desires do not enter into the life of man. The follower of Coué's doctrine of 'self-mastery', then, celebrates a feast of liberation too; but we shall presently see that this act of liberation does not carry quite the same significance in the two cases.

In considering these points we have gone somewhat beyond the views put forward by Ernest Jones. But we hold firmly to his main point that auto-suggestion is a process based on a reconciliation between the ego and the super-ego. It obliges the individual to give up pleasure springing from the sources of object-love, but offers him in compensation pleasure of an auto-erotic character; and in the foregoing pages we have attempted to give a clearer psychological account of how this process takes place.

We venture to believe that we have obtained a certain amount of knowledge about the nature and process of auto-suggestion in this discussion. But we are still faced with an unsolved problem; and this time we are no longer in the fortunate position of being able to turn to any authoritative writings on the subject. We said at the beginning of this paper that one of the three objections usually made against Couéism was that it employed a uniform formula for all patients without distinction, and that it was this fact which most exposed it to

ridicule. We were from the first unable to endorse this easy criticism ; and now we are still less prepared to do so. For in the course of this discussion we have come to the conclusion that in inventing his method Coué saw with psychological penetration what it is that in the last resort all patients unconsciously expect mental treatment to do for them. Each one gives up certain things that are a source of pleasure for him because the enjoyment of them is too much connected with a sense of guilt. Each is ready to take advantage of the permission to indulge in certain infantile wish-fulfilments, especially since it encourages a heightening of his feeling of self-esteem. In return for this he allows his leader to transform him from a relatively independent individual into a mere member of a group. If, thanks to his intuitive knowledge, Coué was able to invent a process of this sort, entailing comparatively little displeasure and so much pleasure, then we shall expect that the instrument of auto-suggestion which he has placed at every man's disposal will not be such a very poor one nor so very stupidly chosen. It seems to me that in taking the opposite line to, let us say, Dubois and his method of ' persuasion ', Coué, who is addressing himself to groups of persons, once more shows a correct intuitive sense. To attempt to proceed with the weapons of logic and reason against group-formations or, what amounts to the same, against the unconscious would argue a serious misapprehension of the mental constitution of human beings. Dubois' method, of which, by the way, we hear very little now, rests ultimately on a similar narcissistic attitude on the part of the physician. The difference is that in the one case the power of the conscious functions of reason and logic are over-estimated, whereas in the other the infantile belief in the omnipotence of thoughts is revived again. It is not a weakness but a positive strength of Coué's method that he looks for access to the unconscious elsewhere than along the road of logic and reason and chooses a line of approach more suited to the conformation of that region of the mind. We shall presently learn from what source Coué has in all probability obtained his knowledge. What we have said does not, of course, mean that his own psychological explanation of his method is necessarily complete and unassailable. We shall be able to convince ourselves that he is essentially an intuitive healer and not a scientific psychologist.

As we know, his formula, translated into English, is as follows : ' Every day, in every way, I am getting better and better '. It is expressed in such general terms that every person can attribute to it a meaning applicable to his own particular ills. The words ' in every

way' absolve the sufferer from thinking specifically of his various complaints as he utters the formula, which he has to say twenty times over three times a day. Coué recommends that the subject should first mentally transport himself into the presence of the physician who has given him the formula, before repeating it. (Here it becomes especially evident that the patient is identifying himself with that person.) He should speak it rapidly, not in a slow or solemn way. It is not a question of laying an inward significance on the words but of simply saying them over by rote. But what is absolutely essential is for the patient to have a bit of string with twenty knots in it, so that while he is going through his auto-suggestive practices he can slip his fingers from one knot to another until he has said it over the requisite score of times.

Although this formula is not the only one, I shall deal with it exclusively.[6] This main formula is exactly like those magical spells which we find in use among savage races, and civilized ones too. For among our own people the charming away of wounds and illnesses is by no means a thing of the past. The detail of practising the method three times a day reminds us of the ritual observances of many races and also of the use of medicaments. It is easy to see that Coué's bit of string is a modern version of the rosary used in Roman Catholic prayer. And it is well known to what an extent a device of this kind helps to reduce prayer to the level of a mere automatic formula. Again we find devices of a similar kind employed by a great variety of peoples. We have only to think, for instance, of the Thibetan 'praying-mills'. Why Coué should have settled precisely on the number twenty I am unable to say; and I suspect he could not either. We frequently find that obsessional neurotics have fixed on particular 'compulsive' numbers in this way, without being able to give a reason for their choice. Only a psycho-analytical investigation would enable us to find out. But our general impression is that Coué's whole method of work is that of a person with an obsessional neurosis that has become latent; and we shall return to this point later on. It may be remarked that obsessional neurotics not only tend to repeat many acts a particular

[6] There is a second one, applicable to special circumstances, as, for instance, all sorts of sudden attacks, and in especial to pain. In this case Coué instructs the sufferer to repeat, as rapidly as possible and without counting the number of times, the words, 'It is going, it is going'. He has to go on doing this until it takes effect, as it is supposed to do at the end of one or two minutes.

number of times, but also to construct formulas, often for the purpose of helping them to combat an obsession. Coué's method of saying the formula over and over again in rapid succession cannot fail to put us in mind of the verbigeration of certain psychotic patients.

Most critics of Coué's find fault with this mechanical procedure of gabbling over a formula learned by heart ; and they cannot understand that in these days anyone should build up a therapeutic method on such a degraded level of mentality. But we take a quite contrary view.

We are able to understand why Coué's method has been so generally successful from the fact that in it the individual becomes a member of a group. He loses his critical faculties, the superstructure of his mind is more or less broken down and his unconscious mental processes, which are of an impulsive nature, get the upper hand. His very readiness to make use of the auto-suggestive formula presupposes a decrease in his critical faculties and a corresponding increase in his powers of belief. It is this disappearance of his critical judgement which opens the way to his unconscious. I need only remind my readers of the fact that at the beginning of a psycho-analysis we tell the patient that in giving his free associations—by means of which we hope to gain access to his unconscious—he is to put aside all critical comments entirely.

Coué's formula is quite certainly designed to work upon the unconscious mind of the patient. Coué says so himself in so many words, although his ideas about the nature of the unconscious give rise to not a few doubts. According to the view of psycho-analysis the unconscious has created in the illness—I am referring more especially to neurotic illness—an outlet for certain tendencies that have been repressed. It is therefore interested in keeping the illness in existence ; for if the illness disappeared it would be the loser. Analysts well know how much it opposes any change of the sort. If now anyone attempts by means of suggestion to persuade (if I may use the term) the unconscious to give up the illness, he must depend for success on having selected a suitable agency for effecting this purpose. In allo-suggestion the most important factor is a libidinal attachment, namely, the person's transference to his hypnotist. And added to this there are special means employed to produce certain definite results in suggestion. In auto-suggestion what is essential is, as we have seen, that there should be a good relation between the super-ego and the ego, and, in addition, a particular vehicle of suggestion.

If we wish to understand why Coué's formula, or any magical formula, is applicable in the latter case and why it is in a large measure successful, we shall do well to start from a fact ascertained by Freud and then proceed to notice certain parallel phenomena belonging to allied fields of interest.

In his critical summary of Le Bon's *The Crowd: a Study of the Popular Mind*, Freud says,[7] 'Anyone who wishes to produce an effect upon it (the group) needs no logical adjustment in his arguments; he must paint in the most forcible colours, he must exaggerate, and he *must repeat the same thing again and again*'. We may go on to say that this repetition of the same thing, especially when it is a stereotyped expression, evidently serves to lay down a line of approach to the unconscious in a peculiar way. It must be, as it were, a language to which the unconscious reacts. Now the language one understands best is the language one speaks oneself. And we can at once go on to say that repetition is a frequent and familiar form of expression of unconscious impulses. This is not the place to discuss the phenomena described by Freud under the name of 'repetition-compulsion'. Beginning from that overpowering compulsion which forces the individual to perform the same act over again at certain intervals of time, a continuous series of intermediate stages takes us to those phenomena in which we are especially interested at present.

In the field of ethnology we come across remarkable facts which we can well use as parallels to the matter under discussion. Not long ago I read an account by Stanley, the African explorer, of how his expedition had to engage in a fight with hostile natives. He divided his men into several companies and appointed to each a captain. As the fight began each company set up a kind of war-song or battle-cry. The company, for instance, whose captain was a man called Uledi, started repeating in an endless chant 'Uledi—ledi—ledi. . .'. The meaning of this custom is clear. It emphasizes the attachment which each man has to his leader, an attachment which at the same time binds him to his companions in arms.

A certain condition of mental disorder, catatonia, which is accompanied by a far-reaching regression of the libido to its earliest stages of development (and occasionally other psychotic conditions as well) exhibits the symptom of verbigeration. In it the patient utters one or more words many times over in an automatic way. To the psycho-

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[7] *Group Psychology*, p. 16. The last words are italicized by myself.

analyst those series of words represent a substitute, often only quite slightly distorted, for certain actions which the patient's unconscious desires to carry out. What were once homicidal impulses, for instance, will have become a formula in which allusions to death occur, spoken in a stereotyped fashion. Or a sexual desire will find mitigated expression in certain fixed obscene phrases. These patients also incline to present 'kinæsthetic stereotypies' in which some purpose originally charged with great affective significance has become stereotyped in a grotesque gesture. Many examples of this can be observed in cases of chronic psychosis. For the benefit of those readers who have no practical psychiatric experience, I will give a few instances.

I remember a man whom we used to meet during my schoolboy years in the streets of my native town. His queer behaviour would at once have betrayed to any psychiatrist the residue of a catatonic hebephrenia. Whenever he dragged himself through the streets he was followed by a swarm of school-children. He used to hurry away from them as fast as he could. In these circumstances, but at certain other times as well, he used to talk aloud to himself, and always in the same monotonous tone of voice, repeating the words: 'Ten thousand coffins, ten thousand coffins'. Another of his stereotyped phrases was 'Death is near, the time is up; the time is up, death is near', repeated *ad infinitum*. The hostile impulses of that poor idiot had dwindled to a last mechanical form of expression in those words. We can see in his words a kind of exorcism of his persecutors. We should remark that according to psycho-analytic experience formulas of this kind, even when they have an appearance of being of an aggressive nature, are invariably an expression of sexual impulses, and they are not so only in their verbal content but to a great extent in their *rhythmic* form. This is most easily seen in kinæsthetic stereotypies, whose erotic significance is often quite unmistakable.

In the obsessional neurosis, too, verbal formulas are often constructed. It is true that even superficially they differ greatly from those of catatonics. The patient uses them quite consciously to keep his internal impulses in check. Though often distorted in their form they can always be seen to have a meaning. One of my patients used to drive away certain impulses with the formula: 'That's nothing to do with me—kick—off'. It is worth noting that these formulas, originally employed to counteract a dreaded compulsion, invariably soon become obsessional in character themselves. But it is still more interesting to observe the way in which the emotional ambivalence of

the obsessional patient finds its way into even his minutest psychological productions. In whatever an obsessional neurotic does or says, the instinct and its prohibition—a pleasure-tendency and a punishment-tendency—are present at one and the same time. One of my patients gave me some very instructive examples from his own childhood. At that time his behaviour already displayed hostile and tormenting impulses even though he seemed to be filled with feelings of guilt and remorse. These feelings were secretly connected for the most part with masturbation, whilst outwardly they seemed to be attached to all the usual minor misdeeds of the nursery. When anything of the latter kind had happened the child always used to behave in the same way: He used to cling to his mother and repeat over and over again the words, 'Forgive me, mother, forgive me, mother'. This behaviour was, it is true, accompanied by remorse and self-abasement; but it gave expression in a far greater measure to two other tendencies. In the first place he was continuing to cause his mother pain at the same time as he was begging her forgiveness. His analysis showed that then, as in later years, he always preferred having his faults forgiven to bettering his conduct, a line of action which caused some difficulties in his analysis. In the second place we were able to ascertain that his way of running through his formula of penance was modelled on the rhythm of masturbation. Thus we see that even here the prohibited sexual tendency succeeded in finding expression. The reason I have given a somewhat detailed account of this case is that the patient had tried Coué's formula a short time before coming for analytic treatment. In using this method he had hoped to make up for everything by mumbling a phrase twenty times a day, without having to exert his will in any other way!

We begin to see that for some people adopting Coué's system means subjecting themselves to an easy kind of self-punishment that is much more convenient for them than having to avoid repeating their former errors. And indeed even in this Coué's method complies with their wishes! Punishment is closely connected in every person's mind with numbers. One gets twenty-five strokes of the cane, six months' imprisonment, a fine of a hundred marks. And, returning to our comparison of Coué's method with the telling of beads, we may point out that a good Catholic will often be enjoined by his priest to say his beads a certain number of times as a penance for his sins. Like the rosary of the Roman Catholic, Coué's formula serves the purpose of giving expression to man's universal sense of guilt and desire for

punishment. The association between sin and illness is a very ancient and deep-rooted one. That most common of all human 'faults,' masturbation, brings in its train a sense of guilt and also very often the fear of falling ill. This fear is no other than the person's expectation of being punished for those 'wicked', forbidden wishes of his childhood which all found their physical expression in the act of masturbation.

We are now in a position to state more exactly in what way Coué's method, in so far as it is successful, works upon the individual. In assuming a form of behaviour like that of the obsessional neurotic, the patient, without knowing it, exchanges his former illness for a mild form of obsessional neurosis. The feeling of omnipotence that he gets in connection with the practice of 'self-mastery' is sufficiently pleasurable to blind him to any drawbacks Coué's system may present. It used to be said that hypnosis provokes an artificial hysteria; and Radó has recently put forward the same view about the cathartic method.[8] The therapeutic success obtained by Coué's system would, according to this view, be connected with a more extensive regression. And this agrees very well with what we have ascertained about the line of regression towards the narcissistic stage involved in it. We may add that the class of persons who exhibit ideas of their omnipotence most strongly are obsessional patients. The first case in connection with which Freud described this characteristic was an obsessional one. We are also familiar with the way in which the obsessional patient struggles against his illness, and makes use of formulas to help him in doing so.

Now since the method of 'self-mastery' is exactly the same kind of thing that these obsessional patients invent, we have good grounds for assuming that its author is himself not free from an obsessional neurosis, which is perhaps no longer in the stage of symptom-formation but which evidently obliges him to be constantly testing his omnipotence on the great number of people who come to him in need of assistance. What is very peculiar is his dislike of knowing anything about the origin of the patient's illness. It at once reminds one of those prohibitions in respect of asking questions and knowing things which we meet with in the analysis of obsessional neurotics.

Thus we see that the economic significance of Coué's formula for both the conscious and unconscious of the subject is as manifold as is

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[8] Radó: 'Das ökonomische Prinzip der Technik. I. Hypnose und Katharsis', *Internationale Zeitschrift*, Band XII, 1926.

that of an obsessional symptom in the case of a neurotic. In the first place we have its manifest meaning as a consolation and a support, reinforced by the fact of its frequent repetition. In copying a sentence got from the master himself his disciple can liken himself to him in a great degree. In the second place it serves the purpose of a self-punishment. If the person had been suffering from some illness which stood to his unconscious for a punishment, then one form of penance will have been exchanged for another, and a much less unpleasant one for his ego. Finally, in the formula itself we find a return of the repressed prohibited material, of what the person was being punished for. The factors of rhythm and time in the formula chiefly go to represent the prohibited activity in the subject's unconscious—an activity which he is now carrying on with his 'father's' consent.

Thus in the deepest stratum of the unconscious the use of the formula stands for a concealed form of masturbation done with the father's approbation. The element of the piece of string is also of some interest to us. It would have been possible for the patient to do the counting on his fingers, but Coué insists on his using the piece of string. This fiddling about with it looks very much like a re-appearance of those forbidden manipulations, in a form which on the surface furthers the cause of repression. And so we see how illicit sexual tendencies, punishment, endeavours at improvement and consolation are all concentrated in this one formula.

In the course of our discussion it has become clear what are the psychological factors which cause an untold number of people of every nationality to throw themselves so eagerly into the arms of the Coué method, and why they so docilely and without demur convert themselves into talking-machines and rehearse the therapeutic formula in the prescribed manner. At the same time we have been able to obtain an idea of the psychological relations between this practice of 'self-mastery' and other psycho-therapeutic methods. We are thus enabled to make a graduated scale of therapeutic procedures, just as we have found that we can arrange the chief object of those procedures, the neuroses, in a scale of this kind.

In describing Coué's system as a therapeutic method on the level of the obsessional neuroses, we not only imply that that system makes use of the archaic mode of thought belonging to that level, as we have learnt to know it from the study of obsessional cases; we also conclude that it is the exact opposite of the psycho-analytic method. It is true that Coué, in his writings, mentions the unconscious, but his psycho-

logical substructure is extremely weak and full of internal contradictions. The full extent of the difference between the tendencies of the two methods becomes evident when we consider what position each adopts towards a vital point, i.e. towards the patient's knowledge about the origin and structure of his illness. In psycho-analysis bringing the repressed material to consciousness—a process which entails a large measure of this knowledge about the origin of his illness —is an essential instrument for securing the patient's recovery. Not so in Coué's system. Let us quote his own words: [9] ' It is better not to know from where an ill comes and yet to drive it away, than to know and not to be able to get rid of it '. The psycho-analytic method is at the opposite pole to this. It insists, more than any other, on the patient's recognition of the reality-principle, and, in accordance with a progressive line of development, gives greater place to the importance of consciousness. It requires the person to get the better of his psychological resistances and it has to be carried out, to use Freud's own expression, in a state of ' abstinence '. Coué's method, on the other hand, although it lays stress on the unconscious origins of the patient's symptoms, refuses to know anything about those origins, and it makes very considerable concessions to the pleasure-principle. So that it has essentially a *regressive* character, in contrast to the psycho-analytic method, which may be described as *progressive*. The similarity between Coué's therapeutic methods and those of primitive people is unmistakable. In both the ' magical ' nature of the mental processes involved is the important thing and it is this that spares the patient the pains of having to adapt himself to reality.

Jones has shown, as we have seen, that a method of this sort appears to achieve good results in an easy way, but that those results are obtained at the cost of an inhibition in some important region of the patient's mental life. This agrees with our own conclusion that in succeeding in ' mastering ' his former illness, the patient has exchanged it for an obsessional state of mind.

One of Coué's critics, Décsi, has made the objection that if the patient was suffering from an ' auto-suggested ' illness before his treatment, after it he was enjoying a ' suggested ' good health. He clearly means by this the same as we mean when we say that the person achieves an obsessional feeling of omnipotence.

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[9] Coué, *Self-Mastery through Conscious Auto-suggestion*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1922.

Thus the success obtained by the Coué system is not a genuine one. It is not very easy to find out how long it lasts, since the patients who relapse, just like those who have not been improved by it, do not as a rule come forward. Judging from the few persons I have met who have been treated by Coué's method, I should say that the effect of the suggestion is extremely superficial and soon passes off. This is easy to understand. The therapeutic success of hypnosis lasts as long as the patient's libidinal transference remains attached to his hypnotist; and experience shows that even here we have to do with a very unstable mental state. How much more unstable must it not be in the case of results based on auto-suggestion. The patient is not, after all, quite removed from a sense of reality. The facts of life can so easily expose the falsity of the formula which says he is always getting better and better. And then there is lacking that strong affective personal tie which is formed in the individual towards his hypnotist. And it has yet to be proved whether there exists in Couéism anything more than a passing state of 'fascination' of the subject, who has been reduced to a mere member of a group, or that the danger of his deserting will encounter sufficiently powerful inhibitions.

Only the future can show whether the groups organized round Coué contain sufficiently strong internal ties to ensure the durability of the therapeutic results achieved in each separate case. The practice of 'group-fascination', as we see it in its most widespread form in America, has lent Couéism a great deal of popularity, and so we should expect it to share the vicissitudes of that practice. And in this connection we can note very clearly the difference between psycho-analysis and Coué's method. Analytic treatment is a markedly individual process, is very thorough in its method of work and involves a considerable expenditure of time, so that it cannot be as generally applied as the great frequency of neurotic disorders calls for. But on the other hand it remains free from the taint of being a fashionable and lucrative calling, and does not bring people into the danger of enjoying a brief period of improvement in a state of 'fascination', only to be once more plunged back into their former state of suffering.

CHARACTER-FORMATION ON THE GENITAL LEVEL OF LIBIDO-DEVELOPMENT[1]

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In the two phases of development already discussed[2] we were able to recognize *archaic types of character-formation*. They represent in the life of the individual recapitulations of primitive states which the human race has passed through at certain stages of its development. Here, as in general in biology, we find the rule holding good that the individual repeats in an abbreviated form the history of his ancestors. Accordingly, in normal circumstances the individual will traverse those early stages of character-formation in a relatively short space of time. In this chapter I shall give in very rough outline an idea of the way in which the character of men and women in its definitive form is built up on those early foundations.

According to the traditional view, character is defined as the direction habitually taken by a person's voluntary impulses. It is not part of the intention of this paper to spend much time in finding an exact definition of character. We shall, however, find it advisable not to be too much influenced by the 'habit' of attributing great importance to the direction usually taken by these impulses of the will. For our previous discussions have already made it clear that character is a changeable thing. We shall therefore do better not to make their duration and permanence an essential criterion of character-traits. It will be sufficient for our purposes to say that we consider the character of a person to be the sum of his instinctive reactions towards his social environment.

We have already seen that in early life the child reacts to the external world purely on the basis of its instincts. It is only by degrees that it overcomes to some extent its egoistic impulses and its narcissism and takes the step towards object-love. And, as we know, attainment of this stage of development coincides with another important event,

[1] Chapter III of *Psychoanalytische Studien zur Charakterbildung*, 1925.

[2] Chapter I, 'Contributions to the Theory of the Anal Character', INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS, Vol. IV, Pt. 4. Chapter II, 'The Influence of Oral Erotism on Character-formation', INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS, Vol. VI, Pt. 3.

namely, attainment of the highest level of libidinal organization—the genital level, as it is called. Believing as we do that the character-traits of men and women have their origin in definite instinctual sources, we should naturally expect that the development of a person's character would only be complete when his libido has reached its highest stage of organization and has achieved the capacity for object-love. And in fact Freud's view, that a person's sexual attitude is reflected in the whole trend of his mental attitude in general, finds complete confirmation by all the facts observed in this field as well.

In the first of these three essays it has been shown in detail that the individual is able to fill his place and exercise his powers fully and satisfactorily in his social environment only if his libido has attained the genital stage. But we have not as yet given special attention to that process which consists in the transition from the second stage of character-formation to the third and final one.

The first function of this third stage in the formation of character is of course to get rid of the remaining traces of the more primitive stages of development, in so far as they are unfavourable to the social behaviour of the individual. For he will not, for instance, be able to achieve a tolerant and fair-minded attitude to other people and to interests outside his own, until he has got the better of his destructive and hostile impulses springing from sadistic sources, or of his avarice and mistrust derived from anal ones. We shall therefore examine with great interest the process by means of which such a transformation takes place.

An overwhelming abundance of material connected with the processes we have grouped under the general heading of the Œdipus complex presents itself to us, and draws our attention to this class of mental events. If we confine ourselves to the case of the male child, we find that the most powerful sources of affect in early years consist in his erotic desire for his mother and his wish to put his father out of the way. And closely allied to them are his ideas about castration. If he can successfully master the emotions centred round this subject it will have a decisive effect on the form taken by his character. I shall content myself with a very brief survey of this question, since I can refer the reader to the paper by Alexander, already published [3], on the relations between character and the castration-complex. Generally

[3] 'The Castration Complex in the Formation of Character', INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS, Vol. IV, Pt. 1.

speaking, we may say that when the child has been able to subdue his Œdipus complex with all its constituents he has made the most important step towards overcoming his original narcissism and his hostile tendencies; and at the same time he has broken the power of the pleasure-principle to dominate the conduct of his life.

At this point I will dwell in greater detail on a particular aspect of this process of change, since its significance for the formation of character has as yet received hardly any attention. This is the extensive alteration which takes place in the boy's attitude towards the body of persons of the opposite sex, i.e. in the first instance towards that of his mother. Originally her body was to him an object of mingled curiosity and fear; in other words, it aroused ambivalent feelings in him; but gradually he achieves a libidinal cathexis of his love-object as a whole, that is, with the inclusion of those parts of it which had formerly aroused these contrary feelings in him. If this has been achieved there arise in him expressions of his libidinal relation to his object that are inhibited in their aim—feelings of fondness, devotion and so on—and these co-exist with his directly erotic desires for it. And indeed, during the boy's latency period, these 'aim-inhibited' sentiments predominate over his sensual feelings. If the child's development continues to be normal, these new sentiments that have been established towards his mother next become carried over to his father. They gradually extend their field and the child adopts a friendly and well-wishing attitude, first to persons of his near environment, and then to the community at large. This process seems to me to be a very important basis for the final and definitive formation of a person's character. It occurs at the time at which the individual passes out of that phase of his libidinal development which Freud has called the phallic stage. It implies that he has attained a point in his object-relations where he no longer has an ambivalent attitude towards the genital organ of his heterosexual object, but recognizes it as a part of that object whom he loves as an entire person.

Whereas on the earlier levels of character-development the interests of the individual and those of the community ran counter to one another, on the genital level the interests of both coincide to a great extent.

We are thus led to the conclusion that the definitive character developed in each individual is dependent upon the history of his Œdipus complex and particularly on the capacity he has developed for transferring his friendly feelings on to other people or on to his whole environment. If he has failed in this, if he has not succeeded in

sufficiently developing his social feelings, a marked disturbance of his character will be the direct consequence. Among our patients, with every aspect of whose mental life we become acquainted in psycho-analytic treatment, there are a great number who are suffering in a greater or less degree from disturbances of this kind. The history of their early childhood never fails to show that certain circumstances occurred to prevent the development of these social feelings. We always find that the sexual impulses of such people are unaccompanied by any desire for affectionate relations. And, similarly, in their daily life they have difficulties in getting a proper contact of feeling with other people. How greatly such a favourable development of character from a social point of view depends upon the degree to which these ' affectionate ' instinctual components develop is most clearly seen in a class of persons whose childhood has been in especial stamped by the circumstances of their birth. I refer to illegitimate children. From the very beginning these have suffered from a want of sympathy and affection from the people about them. If a child has no examples of love before it, it will have difficulty in entertaining any such feelings itself, and it will besides be incapable of discarding those primitive impulses which are originally directed *against* the external world. And thus it will readily succumb to an unsocial attitude. We see the same thing happen with the neurotic patient who, though born and educated in the usual circumstances, feels that he is not loved, that he is the ' Cinderella ' of the family.

Since we are on the topic of the definitive stage of character-formation, it may be as well to obviate a possible misunderstanding. It is not the intention of this discussion to say what exactly a ' normal ' character is. Psycho-analysis has never set up norms of this sort, but contents itself with ascertaining psychological facts. It simply ascertains how far an individual or a group of persons has managed to travel along the line of development from the earliest stage to the latest in the structure of their character. It is precisely analytic experience which teaches us that even the most complete characterological development in a social sense merely represents a *relative* success in overcoming the more primitive types of formation, and that individual circumstances of an internal and external nature determine how completely the final aim will be achieved or how far that achievement will be a lasting one.

In 1913 Freud drew attention to the case of a female patient in whom at the time of the menopause there appeared, side by side with

neurotic symptoms, certain phenomena of involution of character.[4] This was the first time that such an observation had been made. We look upon neurotic symptoms as products of a regression in the psycho-sexual sphere. By uniting both processes under the general heading of regression, Freud was able to explain why a change in character takes place at the same time as neurotic symptoms are formed. This observation of Freud's has since been often confirmed. But it is not only at one particular period of life that a person's character is dependent upon the general position of his libido ; that dependence exists at every age. The proverb which says 'Youth knows not virtue' (*'Jugend kennt keine Tugend'*) is expressing the truth that in early life character is still without definite form or stability. Nevertheless, we should not overestimate the fixity of character even in later years, but ought rather to bear in mind certain psychological facts which I shall briefly touch upon now.

It was Freud who first pointed out that important changes can take place at any time in the mental make-up of the individual through the process of introjection. Women in particular tend to assimilate their character to that of the man with whom they are living. And when they change their love-object it can happen that they change their character accordingly. It is, moreover, worth noticing that husband and wife who have lived long together tend to resemble one another in character.

Psycho-analysts are familiar with the fact that when a neurosis sets in it can bring with it a regressive change of character ; conversely, that an improvement in the neurosis can be accompanied by a change of character in a progressive direction. Some time ago [5] I was able to point out that in the intervals between the periodical return of symptoms persons suffering from cyclical disorders exhibit a character similar to that of obsessional neurotics, so that according to our view they progress from the oral to the anal-sadistic level.

But there are other reasons why we cannot set up a norm for character. As we know, individuals show extraordinarily wide variations in character, according to their social class, nationality and race. We need only consider how widely nations or groups of people differ from one another in their sense of order, love of truth, industry,

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[4] 'The Predisposition to Obsessional Neurosis', *Collected Papers*, Vol. II.

[5] *Versuch einer Entwicklungsgeschichte der Libido*, 1924, Chapter I and elsewhere.

and other mental qualities. But, besides this, each group of people will vary in its behaviour at different times. A single nation, for instance, has changed its conceptions of cleanliness, economy, justice, etc., more than once in the course of its history. Observation has shown, furthermore, that alterations in the external circumstances of a people, a social class and so on, can entail radical changes in its dominating characteristics. The effect of the Great War in this respect is still fresh in our memory. Thus we see that, as soon as suitable alterations take place in their internal or external relations, a group of people shows the same mutability of character as an individual.

In the two preceding papers I have shown how the final stage of character-formation is built up on earlier phases of its development and absorbs into itself essential elements of these former phases. And we were led to attribute special importance in the formation of character to the various vicissitudes which befall the Œdipus complex. So that to set up a fixed norm for human character would be to deny, not only the already acknowledged fact that character is variable, but also all that we know about the way in which such variations arise.

We should be inclined to consider as normal in the social sense a person who is not prevented by any too great eccentricity in his character from adapting himself to the interests of the community. But a description like this is very elastic and allows room for a great number of variations. From the social point of view all that is required is that the character-traits of the individual should not be pushed to an excess ; that he should be able, for instance, to find some sort of mean between the extremes of cruelty and over-kindness or between those of avarice and extravagance. We ought above all to avoid the mistake of setting up a norm in regard to the ratio in which the various mental qualities should be combined in any person. It need hardly be said that by this we are not intending to proclaim the ideal of the ' golden mean ' in all the relations of man to his surroundings.

It follows from what has been said that there is no absolute line of demarcation between the different kinds of character-formation. Nevertheless in practice we do find that they fall fairly naturally into distinct classes.

The best subjects for psycho-analytic investigation are those patients who exchange certain character-traits for others from time to time under the direct observation of the analyst. One young man who came to me for analysis gradually changed his attitude to such an extent under the influence of treatment that he quite got rid of certain

markedly unsocial features of his character. Before that he had been unfriendly, ill-disposed, overbearing and grasping in his relation to others, and in fact had exhibited a great number of oral and anal characteristics. This attitude changed more and more as time went on. But at certain irregular intervals violent resistances appeared and were accompanied every time by a temporary relapse into that archaic phase of character-development which he had by now partly given up. On those occasions he would become disagreeable and hostile in his behaviour, and overbearing and contemptuous in his speech. From having conducted himself in a friendly and polite manner he became suspicious and irritable. While his resistance lasted all his friendly feelings towards his fellowmen—including his analyst—ceased, and he took up a completely opposite attitude towards the external world. At the same time as he reacted in this way with aversion and hate for human beings, he centred his desires in an unmeasured degree on inanimate objects. His whole interest was absorbed in buying things. In this way he set up as much as possible a relationship of *possession* between himself and his environment. During this time he was filled with fear that something belonging to him might get lost or stolen. His whole attitude to the external world was thus dominated by ideas of possession, acquisition and possible loss. Directly his resistance began to diminish his oral character-trait of covetousness and his anal one of avarice in regard to objects retreated into the background, and he began once more to entertain personal relationships towards other people and normal feelings about them which continued to develop.

Cases of this kind are particularly instructive, not only because they show the connection between certain features of character and a particular level of libidinal organization, but also because they are evidence of the mutability of character ; they show that the character of a person can on occasion rise to a higher level of development or sink to a lower one.

The final stage of character-formation shows traces everywhere of its association with the preceding stages. It borrows from them whatever conduces to a favourable relation between the individual and his objects. From the early oral stage it takes over a forward-pushing energy ; from the anal stage, endurance, perseverance and various other characteristics ; from sadistic sources, the necessary power to carry on the struggle for existence. If the development of his character has been successful the individual is able to avoid falling

into pathological exaggerations of those characteristics, whether in a positive or a negative direction. He is able to keep his impulses under control without being driven to a complete disavowal of his instincts, as is the obsessional neurotic. The sense of justice may serve as an illustration ; in a case of favourable development this character-trait is not carried to an excessive pitch of punctiliousness, so that it is not liable to break out in a violent way on some trivial occasion. We have only to think of the many actions done by obsessional neurotics in the way of ' fairness ' : suppose the right hand has made a movement or touched an object, the left hand must do the same. We have already said that ordinary friendly feelings remain entirely distinct from exaggerated forms of neurotic over-kindness. And similarly it is possible to steer a middle course between the two pathological extremes of either delaying everything or always being in too great a hurry ; or of either being over-obstinate or too easily influenced. As regards material goods, the compromise arrived at is that the individual respects the interests of others up to a certain point, but at the same time secures his own existence. He preserves to some extent the aggressive impulses necessary for the maintenance of his life. And a considerable portion of his sadistic instincts is employed no longer for destructive but for constructive purposes.

In the course of this general alteration of character, as presented here in rough outline, we also observe that the individual achieves a steady conquest of his narcissism. In its earlier stages his character was still in a large measure governed by his narcissistic impulses. And we cannot deny that in its definitive stage it still contains a certain proportion of such impulses. Observation has taught us that no developmental stage, each of which has its organic basis, is ever entirely surmounted or completely obliterated. On the contrary, each new product of development possesses characteristics derived from its earlier history. Nevertheless, even though the primitive signs of self-love are to some extent preserved in it, we may say that the definitive stage of character-formation is *relatively* unnarcissistic.

Another change of great importance in the formation of character is that in which the individual overcomes his attitude of ambivalence (I speak again in a relative sense). Instances have already been given to show in what way a person's character avoids extremes on either side after it has attained its final stage of development. I should also like to draw attention here to the fact that as long as a severe conflict of ambivalent feelings continues to exist in the character there is

always a danger both for the person concerned and for his environment that he may suddenly swing over from one extreme to its opposite.

Thus if a person is to develop his character more or less up to that point which we have taken to be its highest level, he must possess a sufficient quantity of affectionate and friendly feeling. A development of this sort goes hand in hand with a relatively successful conquest of his narcissistic attitude and his ambivalence.

We have seen that the customary view of character-formation did not give us any real clue to the sources of that process as a whole. Psycho-Analysis, on the other hand, based on empirical observation, has demonstrated the close connection that character-formation has with the psychosexual development of the child, in especial with the different libidinal stages and with the successive relations of the libido to its object. And, furthermore, psycho-analysis has taught us that even after childhood the character of the individual is subject to processes of evolution and involution.

In psycho-analysis we view abnormal character in close and constant relation to all the other manifestations of the person's psychosexual life. This and the fact that character is not a fixed thing, even in adults, make it possible for us to exert a corrective influence upon pathological character-formations. Psycho-Analysis is by no means simply confronted with the task of curing neurotic symptoms in the narrow sense of the word. It often has to deal with pathological deformities of character at the same time, or even in the first instance. So far our experience goes to show that the analysis of character is one of the most difficult pieces of work which the analyst can undertake, but that it has undoubtedly proved in some cases to be the most repaying. At present, however, we are not in a position to make any general judgement about the therapeutic results of character-analysis ; that we must leave to future experience.

SHORTER COMMUNICATIONS

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SPORT

The observations which form the material of this communication are derived from the analysis of a patient suffering from impotence, together with anxiety-states and depression. Owing to his feelings of inferiority, he is almost incapable of accomplishing anything in his profession or of entering into any social relations. There is only one way in which he can temporarily feel ' full power ' and completely master the inner attitude which has its origin in his complexes. He does this by eagerly engaging in every possible kind of sport. During his analysis we have often been able to discover the relations between his interest in sport and his symptoms and to determine what were the impulses thus desexualized or sublimated and how he had succeeded in overcoming his castration-complex, that is to say, in making his activities in sport compensate for the inferiority feelings in which that complex expressed itself. Though such an investigation does not present anything new to the analyst, I think the material obtained is worth reporting, because the patient's early infantile experiences give us an insight into the mechanism of which the complexes made use in order to relieve the psychic apparatus through this particular outlet. This mechanism, in itself nothing new, does seem to me noteworthy in this connection, and I think it exhibits something of fundamental importance for the psychology of sport.[1]

During the analysis we had occasion more than once to deal with a dream which appeared in various forms and which had recurred since earliest childhood, always with the same content, accompanied by the most intense anxiety. A round object, a ball, a balloon, a circular building, a Roman column, a cloud of a round shape, a strange bird or something of the sort, was hovering above his head and threatening to fall down and destroy him. In the dream the patient sought in vain for help, and awoke with anxiety.

The analysis of this dream helped us to track down the symptoms to their sources. We found the patient's infantile neurosis, in his fourth

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[1] In her paper entitled ' Infant Analysis ' (1923) (this JOURNAL, Vol. VII, Pt. 1), Melanie Klein attempted to elucidate this problem.

year, manifesting itself at first in the typical childish fear of darkness and solitude. At that time the phantasy with which the anxiety was connected was that of a hand extended menacingly towards him. Dread of this hand was the content of his fears. At this time the patient was engaged in severe struggles against masturbation, accompanied by masochistic-sadistic phantasies. The hand which menaced him in the darkness was the hand of his father, punishing him by castration ; hence his anxiety was the dread of castration.

In his eighth year these first anxiety-states were succeeded by a fully-developed phobia. The latter had the same content as the anxiety-dreams ; the memory of the phobia belonged to material which had been wholly buried and came into discussion only at a late phase of the analysis. His condition at that time exhibited a kind of agoraphobia with a sharply-defined content : he was afraid that a ball, with which he himself was playing or which someone else might throw, would fall on his head and either mortally injure him or so hurt his head as to make him an idiot. This anxiety restricted his freedom of movement, for wherever he went he dreaded this sinister event. This phobia, like the first anxiety-state, proved to embody the dread of castration, the threatening hand of the father being replaced by the ball. To explain how the hand came to be transformed into a round object would take us too far from our subject ; I can only briefly indicate that the genital organ of the father, perceived by the child as ' round,' and the rounded organs of the mother had something to do with it.

The phobia lasted for a short time, and was then succeeded by diffused feelings of anxiety, slight obsessional symptoms, etc.

A short time after the phobia disappeared (perhaps immediately afterwards) the patient developed his first keenness for sport. Curiously enough, it was sport with balls which so strongly attracted his interest —first playing at ball, then football and tennis, and from these beginnings his athletic tendencies continued to develop. We see that the whole pleasure-giving play-situation which the patient created for himself was identical with the situation of his phobia. In both the patient awaited the ball in a state of tension. The difference between the two situations is this : that in the phobia he ineffectually took to flight, while in games he endeavoured effectually to master the situation. We have already seen that the phobia was a continuation of the dread of the threatening hand, the ball corresponding to the anxiety-object which had been projected further off—the castrating hand of the

father, who in that phase was the object at one and the same time of libidinal desire and of hate.

If we take as a starting-point for further discussion the fact that the sport-situation repeated in its content that of the phobia, we must suppose that from the economic point of view it had also the same aim—to free the psychic apparatus from its inner burden by displacing the danger, which really arose from the subject's instincts, into the outer world and by avoiding it through suitable defence-reactions.

But we know that the anxiety can never be wholly 'bound' in a phobia, for it is not possible in actual fact to displace the inner danger outwards. Moreover, this process takes place only at the cost of self-imposed prohibitions and renunciations, that is to say, it is a painful process. It is a different matter in sport. Here it is perfectly possible to displace the danger threatening from within to the outside world and so to convert neurotic into real anxiety and, by observing certain conditions, to create for oneself the pleasurable situation of a game instead of the painful situation of a phobia.

When a certain amount of castration-dread (the amount will vary with the individual) has passed into 'justified anxiety', the sport situation provides the most ideal conditions for release from fear, namely, expectant readiness, contempt of the danger which threatens, a trial of the subject's own powers and rational attack and defence.

I speak of 'justified anxiety' in the sport-situation, although in actual fact the anxiety developed does not reach any degree of intensity. Nevertheless, the feeling produced of excitement and tension differs only quantitatively, and not qualitatively, from anxiety. There are, too, differences of degree in this, and even people well accustomed to sport tell us of states of excitement with which we are familiar as anxiety-equivalents.

The anxiety-object (now located in the outside world) towards which the tendencies to mastery are directed is either the opponent in the game or the element which has to be mastered, e.g. mountains, water, air, etc.

There are other libidinal tendencies as well which find outlet here, but to discuss them in greater detail is outside the scope of this communication. In particular, homosexual propensities and the aggressive tendencies connected with them, as well as masochistic punishment-wishes, are here discharged in a desexualized, ego-syntonic form. In

our particular connection it is a matter of indifference whether we are dealing with an unrepressed part of the libidinal impulses, that is to say, with genuine sublimations, or with reaction-formations.

The possibility of discharge in an ego-syntonic form lessens the conflict between ego-tendencies and sexual instincts, and the harmonious operation of the two leads to an increase of feelings of power within the ego.

Another motive from which the ego derives satisfaction is to be found in the self-exhibition which is so outstanding a feature of sport and in the sense of one's own physical power which it gives. Hárnik has already pointed out the connection of the latter with the castration-complex.[1]

Thanks to the ego-syntonic nature of the discharge and the accompanying reinforcement of the narcissistic feelings, the whole process here assumed to afford the subject a partial relief from castration-dread has a highly pleasurable tone, in contrast to the 'pain' of the phobia. The explanation suggested in this case may be extended into a general assumption that, even in a person who is not markedly neurotic, the mechanism in the pursuit of sport is the same: projection of a source of anxiety into the outside world and discharge of the anxiety. For even in normal people situations arise in which the binding of anxiety, which has hitherto been perfectly satisfactorily effected, suddenly fails, the whole proud structure of narcissism collapses, and the athletic Hercules plainly sees the hand appear once more out of the dark and trembles and is afraid. It is in such moments that the athlete is suddenly overcome with feelings of anxiety which have no rational foundation. This anxiety makes its appearance either just as he is about to engage in some athletic performance (as a sort of stage-fright), or it surprises him suddenly on the trapeze, on a lonely mountain-path or in some other sphere of athletics. It is of the nature of neurotic anxiety and indicates a breaking through, a failure of the apparently successful mastery.

Thus we see in sport one of those precautionary measures or safety-valves by which the harassed human being tries to ward off at least a tiny part of his fear of the threatening hand.

This helps us also to understand why the foolhardy tourist risks the

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[1] Hárnik: 'The Various Developments undergone by Narcissism in Men and Women', INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS, Vol. V.

uncertain event, at the utmost peril to his life : he is trying to rid himself of part of his fear of death by daring the contest with the threatening hand (God—father—nature). For he has succeeded in locating or projecting into the outside world the forces dominating him within and so converting his anxiety of conscience into a real ' justified ' anxiety. The original situation between ego and external world is thus restored ; the whole battle is waged no longer between the institutions of the ego, but between the ego and the external world. The social value of sport, too, from the point of view of psychology, lies partly in the fact that, through this process of displacing the battlefield, aggressive tendencies are discharged in a manner consonant with the ego. By the increase in narcissistic gratification the wound inflicted by the castration-complex is assuaged, and, above all, the subject is afforded a possibility of getting rid of part of the dread of castration or the fear of death which is common to all mankind.

Helene Deutsch (Vienna).

AN HYSTERICAL SYMPTOM IN A CHILD OF TWO YEARS AND THREE MONTHS OLD

The little incident which I shall report here did not come under my own observation. The child's mother, Frau Hilda Sissermann, told me about it and gave me leave to publish it. She vouches for the correctness of the observation. Her story is as follows :—

At the time of the occurrence she and her children were living in Tula, in a house in the courtyard of which there was a deep well. She had repeatedly told all the children that they were not to go near the well by themselves or even to play by it and, in order to deter them from doing so, she had vividly described to them the danger of falling in. One day she happened to be standing near the well with one of the children, a little boy of two years and three months old, when a full bucket of water which had just been drawn broke away from the chain and crashed down into the well. The incident obviously made a profound impression on the baby. He spoke of it as follows (as far as he could speak plainly at all) : ' Bucket was naughty ; bucket fell into the well '. He continued to talk of it with excitement, making the bucket into a child, and finally he himself became the child that fell in. After his mother and he had gone back into the house, while she was

beginning to take off his little coat, he suddenly began to scream and cry, calling out that his arm hurt him, that they must not touch it, for he had ' broken it to bits ' when he fell into the well. His mother was convinced that it must be simply a phantasy and tried, first gently and then sternly, to make him obey her, but without success. At last she became frightened at the look of his arm, which he kept rigidly bent, so that the baby-fat bulged out all round and made it look swollen. She began to wonder if, in leading him in, she could really have strained or sprained his arm, and so she sent for the doctor. He was a clever physician, with much experience of children. He gave it as his opinion that there was no evidence of a fracture, but was inclined to think that there was a very painful strain, and prescribed poultices. Whilst the arm was being examined the child screamed as if in torments. His little coat had been cut away. He was put to bed and sat up in his cot and played, without ever moving his arm ; when anyone tried to touch it he screamed. When he was asleep in the afternoon his mother tried to touch the arm, and immediately he woke up. Nevertheless she still felt a doubt about the reality of the injury. When the baby woke up from his afternoon sleep, she sat down by his bed with a friend and played with him so long and in such a diverting way that he gradually became more lively and forgot everything, and finally stretched, lifted, turned and dropped both arms, whilst playing at being a bird and flying. From that moment nothing more was heard of his arm hurting him.

This is the mother's account, and she adds that in his later development the child never again showed a tendency to symptom-formation of this sort.

I think that in this case a large part of the mechanism of symptom-formation is plainly evident. Probably the little boy had often wished to disobey his mother and go near the tempting well. On the basis of this wish feelings of guilt arose, which enabled him to put himself in the place of the bucket and to transfer to himself what he imagined to be the bucket's punishment.

But I think we may venture to supplement this with a further stage in the mechanism. We are probably justified in supposing that the feelings of guilt, which related to playing by the well, were reinforced by other, more serious feelings arising from the actual, and not merely phantasied, transgression of a prohibition ; I refer to the prohibition of onanism. If this were so what the child saw happen at the well—the breaking away of the bucket from the chain and its fall into the

depths of the water—must have signified to him a symbolic execution of the threat of castration: the loss of a guilty and highly prized bodily organ—first of all the penis itself, and then, by a process of displacement, the arm and the hand which had shared the forbidden activity.

From this point of view the child's symptom had a double meaning. The stiffness and immobility of his arm would represent the action of moral tendencies, since these symptoms would constitute a direct punishment for onanism and a renunciation of the habit. The way in which he held his arm tightly pressed to his body and anxiously shielded it from every interference from outside would represent an instinctive defence and precautionary measure against the castration which threatened him.

Of course, from a distance and without any possibility of testing one's supposition, it is impossible to decide how far the explanation I have suggested is really correct.

Anna Freud (Vienna).

NOTES ON AN ANALYSIS OF A CASE OF PÆDERASTY[1]

The patient from whose analysis I propose to give a few extracts was a young man of twenty-two, coming of a poor family. A colleague of mine who was interested in psycho-analysis sent him to me on account of his homosexual inclinations.

This colleague told me in a letter that the young man had been to his clinic and had asked whether he ought to have himself castrated, since he was afraid that his inversion would bring him into collision with the law and lead to the ruin of both himself and his family. Up till then, the letter said, the patient's tendencies had been mainly an active pædophilia. He had no inclinations towards young men of his own age. He had already undergone treatment, lasting several months, by different medical men, partly as an out-patient, partly in a sanatorium, but had never received any lasting benefit from it.

The first thing that came up in the patient's analysis was an

[1] Paper read before the First German Psycho-Analytical Meeting at Würzburg, October, 1924.

experience dating back to his eighth year. This experience was a typical screen-memory, and all the constituents of his perversion could be traced in a forward or backward direction till they united in that point. It was as follows : He was playing at ' school ', as he called it, with his sisters and a girl of his own age, and his mother caught him as he, like them, was taking down his clothes so as to show his genitalia. As soon as she came in he pulled up his knickers, but he was not able to succeed as quickly as the girls, who had simply let their skirts drop down. His mother said nothing, and had perhaps not noticed anything ; but this did not prevent him from feeling that she had found him out.

In his later years he had a particular fear of being caught by his mother, and it was she who made him feel especially ashamed of his homosexuality. That he was strongly fixated on her was very clearly shown by the fact that he worked at his trade under her and received an allowance from her.

The analysis began by showing the significance of that exhibitionist situation in the later development of the patient's perversion, and we will therefore turn our attention to that situation first of all. His fixation on it had obviously excited strongly ambivalent emotions in him and it was clearly evident in many ways. The idea of exhibiting in front of his mother (and unconsciously of course the expectation that she would do the same before him) corresponded no doubt, in him as in others, to an early wish that had been speedily repressed. Its place had been taken, in his childhood experience, by exhibition in front of small girls ; and this was carried over, in the shape of a perversion, into exhibiting before boys. Repression had thus gone a stage further, as a result, it seems, of a failure to arrive at a compromise in real life, i.e. to exhibit in front of small girls instead of his unattainable mother.

To be found out by his mother but not punished by her—that was the second fixed point in the patient's mode of thought and feeling. Not only when he was seducing boys, but also when he was indulging in occasional thefts or fights, he usually managed to get himself caught ; but he was always confident that nothing would be done to him or that he would at any rate be let off lightly. And thanks to the almost comic effect on people of his ' awkwardness ' he was invariably justified in his belief. In this connection there constantly recurred the idea that he was invulnerable. This idea was the prelude, the necessary condition almost, of his sadistic and other phantasies.

The first effect of being caught in wrong-doing seemed therefore to be that he relinquished a *real* object (i.e. small girls), and in this he presumably copied his earlier abandonment of his first, phantasied love-object, his mother. But he retained his exhibitionist activities. His allowing himself to be caught was itself only an intensified form of ' showing himself ', an exhibiting in front of his mother, in which a transference to other objects (neighbours, policemen, etc.) had been made. It also represented the conversion into a feeling of fear of the pleasure he had once got by frightening and overawing girls who had no penis ; that is, it represented a transformation of sadistic impulses into masochistic ones. At the same time there took place a partial substitution of his genitals and genital activity ; other activities, such as stealing, fighting and boastfulness, took their place and represented them in a symbolic form.

The consequences of that childhood episode would certainly not have been so severe if it had not been precisely his mother, to whom his libido was very strongly attached, who had surprised him and interrupted his actions. Nevertheless, all our experience tells us that events more important and decisive for his perversion must have occurred earlier, to which this scene of his eighth year could only have been the sequel. On the other hand, when we look at his type of behaviour, representing a compromise between activity and inhibition, we can regard it as a specific outcome of that actual event. We might describe its effects on the boy's mind with the words ' *Fortiter in re, suaviter in modo* '. The discharge of excitation would be cut off in him by a sudden access of terror, but almost simultaneously he would feel an unexpected and surprising sense of satisfaction at not being punished in any way. Both factors—his ungratified instinct and the absence of the expected anger—could not but impel him to repeat his unsuccessful attempt. What was most important was the dynamic aspect of the situation : it was the *suddenness* of the blocking of discharge which led to its numerous repetitions, as we see happen in cases of shock-neurosis.

The patient repeated his childhood-experience not only in real life but in his phantasies. And it was a phantasy of this sort, coming up in a dream during his analysis, that helped us to understand the situation.

His dream was as follows : ' I was copulating with my mother. The driver came along. I was surprised that he did not say anything or make any objection. I went on with what I was doing '.

The driver was of course a substitute for his father. But behind him was concealed his mother herself ; she disturbed him in his illicit doings, and was yet apparently in league with him and did not take any action against him. His copulation with his mother represented, as the prototype of all prohibited acts, the exhibitionist proceedings of his childhood and his later substitutive actions. The latent thought of his dream—' so long as my mother is on my side my father can't do anything to me '—was connected with the previous analytic hour, in which he had told me about a quarrel he had had with a cab-driver on account of a sexual—heterosexual—solicitation on his part, a quarrel which ended in his being charged by the police. This episode had at the time made him feel that he had now spoilt his whole life and his analysis. On the other hand, the analysis that preceded his dream had brought him a sense of serenity and a belief that that was not the case ; and from this he had concluded that now the police, too, would not do anything to him. Thus his dream was a transference-dream inasmuch as it said, ' So long as I am in league with my analyst (my mother), the police (my father) cannot interfere with me '. And beneath the events of the day which occasioned the dream and which led back to the childhood-scene, we see the actual Œdipus complex of the patient appearing.

Concerning the original development of the patient's Œdipus complex and his previous years of childhood, we were able to get the following picture : The patient was born between two sisters and was at first the only son ; as such he was for some time presumably his parent's favourite child. He could recollect that in those early years he had had an unchecked nature and was very boyish and free in his behaviour, even towards his father, in a way that was quite at variance with his present character, which was retiring and easily overborne. When he was about three years old he remembered waking up one night in the room which he shared with his parents and hearing them quarrelling. He had heard his mother say : ' He only offered me a small glass of beer. I couldn't refuse that ' ; and his father had said something which he could not understand. His mother had then sat up in bed and his father had kicked her in the back. He remembered having asked them, ' What are you doing ? ' and that his mother had answered, ' Nothing ; you go to sleep '.

As we shall soon see, there are striking resemblances to be found between this scene, the dream the patient dreamed during his analysis, and the exhibitionist episode of his eighth year.

The dream-situation of being surprised while copulating with his mother and the childhood-experience of being caught exhibiting reverse the situation of the original scene of jealousy, in that from being an onlooker the patient became an active participator in it. In his dream and in the scene of jealousy, on the other hand, it was his father who was the jealous person, whereas in his screen-memory it was he who was disturbed by his mother in a childish ' love-scene '—that is as much as to say that it was at that time his mother who was the jealous person who would not let her son be unfaithful to her. Thus we come to the conclusion that the scene of jealousy observed by the child was itself only a screen-memory for a still earlier scene of copulation which he had witnessed, in which he himself was the jealous spectator and perhaps also the interrupter of it. The fact that it was a scene in which his mother was being ill-treated which became a screen-memory for the original scene fits in very well, as we know, with the infantile view of the nature of coitus. In his dream it is the patient who ' gets at ' his mother, as he expressed it, and the driver (his father) who has to look on and to say nothing, as he himself had had to do on that early occasion. And his mother, too, had been silent, or had answered ' Nothing at all ', leaving him in this way in a state of unsatisfying uncertainty whether something had happened or ' nothing at all '—in that same state in which he in his time had left her at the time of the exhibitionist scene and in which he himself had remained in a still higher degree ; for he did not know whether she had or had not seen what he had been doing in that episode of his childhood.

Some time ago I told Dr. Abraham this experience from my patient's eighth year which is now seen to be a screen-memory. Dr. Abraham made the suggestion at that time that some early scene of the nature described must have been the actual cause of the patient's subsequent perversion. To activate those particular mechanisms of perversion which he had, however, rather than any other perversion or a neurosis, further very important experiences had to occur and to exert their specific influence upon the libidinal life of the patient.

At the age of nine the patient, who had hitherto been a healthy, strong child, fell ill of scarlet fever and of diphtheria. He spent a long time in hospital, and his sister, who was ill with him, slept in a bed by his side. He was filled with astonishment and fear when the nurse took his temperature *per anum* in the same way as she did with his sister. He could not get rid of the horrible sensation that the nurse

was doing something to him down there, nor of the humiliating consciousness that he was being treated just like a girl ; and these feelings received a rational basis in a perforation of the drum of the ear and a grave injury to his hearing with which he finally left the hospital.

This real disability which his severe illness left behind involved a serious injury to his narcissism ; it reinforced his unconscious ideas connected with castration and gave the final impulse for a complete and rapid repression of his first sexual period with its incestuous object, its infantile megalomania and its boyish pride in the possession of a penis.

In his eighth year the patient's narcissism had suffered another blow, through the birth of his younger brother. This brother had a stronger and healthier constitution and soon began to deprive the patient, who was now feeble in health, of a great part of the love and pride his parents used to devote to him. It was not surprising that the neglected favourite should from now on have withdrawn himself from reality to a great extent, and should have sought compensation for the loss of real happiness in an imaginary world, and more especially in phantasies of his own invulnerability.

A glance at what has been already said will show that the patient's breakdown not only put an end, in a great measure, to his narcissism, but at the same time to his former complete identification with his father, based on a common love for his mother, a common jealousy and a common pride in the possession of a penis.

Before these critical events of his eighth and ninth years the patient had continued undisturbed in his infantile megalomania, and used to treat his father in a very high-handed manner. He had threatened him with his wooden sword and said quite boldly and impudently that he would have *him* to reckon with if he vexed his mother. He had felt very superior towards little girls because of his aptitude in climbing and his masculine ability to bear pain without flinching. Now, however, he felt himself no better than a girl ; he was a weakling, and they took his temperature up his anus. But, above all, his mother had children not by him but by his father ; and furthermore she even preferred his small brother to him, for it was his brother to whom she gave the breast. His attempts to maintain his former superiority failed—as, for instance, in the exhibitionist scene ; they failed necessarily, for he had lost his faith in the inalienable ownership of his penis and with it all confidence in himself. And his mother no longer loved him. The two things were ultimately one and the same.

Further analysis brought to light a third screen-memory, and one that had a characteristic significance for his castration-complex. On one occasion his little sister had got her head stuck in between some bars while playing and could not pull it out again. This recollection was undoubtedly a symbolic representation of his own fear of having to leave behind his penis in the narrow passage of the vagina.

I should like to add two more remarks. In the first place, we see the theme of ' saying nothing ' recurring in the patient's dream, in the scene of jealousy and in the exhibitionist episode of his eighth year. This theme has an ambivalent meaning. On the one hand, it repeats the unsatisfying ' nothing ' with which his mother put off his curiosity and his questions concerning that nocturnal scene of jealousy. On the other hand, it stands for that ' saying nothing ' on her part, that not punishing him, which had relieved him so much when he was caught doing wrong. It represented the boy's complete uncertainty whether his mother was friendly or hostile towards him. Hence his incredulity and surprise in the dream when the driver said nothing to him.

In the second place, this condition of ' doing something wrong ', i.e. something perverse, once more referred to his mother ; for she herself, as he had understood very well as a child, had done something that his father thought ' wrong ' when she had allowed a strange man to offer her some beer. Thus the boy's tendency to punish himself, as we see it in his letting himself be caught and in his intention of having himself castrated on account of his perversion, is a measure directed against his mother and carried out on his father's behalf ; it is turned against his ego by the mechanism of introjection.

The normal Œdipus complex ends by the child's giving up his mother as his love-object, and increasing his identification with his father. In the present case we see how the introduction of a powerful castration-dread led to a peculiar termination of the complex. For his castration-dread allowed the patient to choose as love-objects only persons who

(1) did not belong to his father and were not like his mother,

(2) were not in a position to remind him of a castration-*threat* by having a large penis, nor of a castration-*fear* by not having one at all. That is, his objects could only be boys, who represented what he once had been (narcissistic objects), who were like his father but not equal to him, and who were loved by their mothers.

It was in virtue of the specific compromise-formation effected in his case that the patient gave up little girls, too, as objects of love in

later life; for he fled from them as typifying the idea of castration which he could no longer deny. The same compromise-formation, on the other hand, prevented him from carrying his inversion to the pitch of falling in love with men (that is, his father), and thus identifying himself completely with his mother and taking up a passive-feminine attitude.

Although the patient's acknowledgement of the superiority of his father's penis no longer permitted him to exert a normal sexual potency in regard to women (i.e. mother-imagos), nevertheless he had found certain reaction-formations against that fact of castration which he had to some degree accepted. For instance, his active-masculine sexual behaviour towards boys served him as a proof that he possessed a penis, just as his earlier exhibitionist scene with the little girls had done.

The preservation of the penis [1] was achieved in his case, therefore, by reducing it permanently to an infantile condition, in which its powers of aggression were enfeebled, and by a limitation in his choice of an object on account of a sense of guilt. He could become a serious rival neither to his father nor to his mother. But thanks to the compromise-formation that was achieved, he was able to find an immediate escape from the fate of having to forgo permanently all instinctual gratification in real life.

Clara Happel (Frankfurt).

DEPRIVATION OF THE SENSES AS A CASTRATION SYMBOL [2]

A little boy, aged three years and eleven months, was told by his father that their dog had been run over by a motor car, the wheel of which had passed over the abdomen. A little later he saw some blood on the steps and was told that it had come from the dog. He did not know that actually the wheel had bruised the glans penis, from which the blood had come. The dog had been taken to a canine hospital, and, as no evidence of internal injury was detected, he was brought home in a couple of days. A few minutes after the child had seen him he went up to his mother and remarked 'Pat (the dog) is blind and

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[1] Cf. Freud, 'The Passing of the Œdipus Complex', *Collected Papers*, Vol. II.

[2] Read before the British Psycho-Analytical Society, March, 1926.

deaf '. This remark was so plainly nonsensical that it must have had an occult meaning, which could only have referred to the idea of castration ; as is well known, blindness, and less often deafness, are common symbolic expressions for castration.

Presumably the boy must have investigated the dog's anatomy on his reappearance, and it would have been easy for him to do so without being observed. If so, he would have noted the continued existence of the penis, but whether he could have observed the swollen bruise is not certain. The question arises whether his remark was prompted by the former observation or by the latter, i.e. by his noting that the penis was safe or that it was damaged. The interpretation turns on this point, for there are two alternative ones.

In the one case the significance of the remark would be the desire to inform the mother that, although things appeared to be all right, the dog, i.e. the father, had really suffered mutilation, i.e. castration. In support of this is the fact that the boy closely associated the dog with the father, so that it must have represented the father's penis in his unconscious. According to the second interpretation the remark was a desire for reassurance, the dog being identified with himself. The absurdity of the remark, which was as evident to him as to his mother, would signify an over-compensation, an extreme way of saying that nothing was wrong. It would imply that he had perceived some slight damage. In favour of this view that the dog was identified with himself is the fact that the boy had previously identified abdomen (the part he had been told was injured) with penis in a castration connection ; some time before his father had asked him if he might give him his evening bath and had been given the answer, ' Yes, if you promise not to touch my " tummy " '.

There was no way of deciding between the two interpretations, and it is likely enough that both were valid, the remark being a condensation for the wish to have the father castrated and to be reassured that he himself was immune from such a calamity.

Ernest Jones (London).

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE SERPENT

It is frequently stated in psycho-analytic literature that the serpent may appear in dreams or in neurotic phantasy as a sexual symbol. Wohlgemuth in his *Critical Examination of Psycho-Analysis* denies the

erotic significance of the serpent entirely. He attempts to prove that the serpent is a symbol of immortality, and not of sex. The point to be noted in Wohlgemuth's championship of the immortality symbolism as an alleged exclusive alternative to the sexual symbolism is his implicit subscription to a theory of a universal significance, attachable on every occasion to any given symbol. In this matter Wohlgemuth goes further than Freud; for although Freud raises the question of the possibility of giving dream symbols 'a firmly established significance like the signs in stenography', he expressly denies that there is any certainty in attaching the usual or common meaning to any individual case of symbolism. If Wohlgemuth had expressed his theory with equal caution he would not have denied the possibility of the sexual interpretation of the serpent symbolism but rather its probability. Freud's proposition that 'most cases of serpent symbolism are capable of sexual interpretation' does not demand an extreme demurrer, 'no cases of serpent symbolism are capable of sexual interpretation', to deny it effectively and sufficiently—if it can be denied.

According to Wohlgemuth, the sloughing of the serpent's skin 'appears to the artless and unsophisticated mind as a new snake crawling out of the old one, thus giving rise to the belief in the immortality of serpents'. Their capacity of recovery from mutilation strengthens this belief. From length of years comes the reputed wisdom ascribed to the serpent in Genesis. To prove further that the serpent is not a sexual symbol Dr. Wohlgemuth describes a number of erotic paintings wherein no serpents are depicted.

According to the interesting Hebrew myth describing the creation and the fall of man we know that God first made Adam, and then from a rib, extracted while Adam was in a deep sleep, He made Eve. The serpent persuaded Eve to eat of the forbidden fruit of a tree that God had placed in Eden, presumably for the purpose of trying the effect of His prohibitions on man. At Eve's importunity Adam shared the fruit. Thereupon Adam and Eve for the first time since their creation noticed that they were naked. Very properly horrified they hid themselves in the foliage, where God detected them as He walked in the garden in the cool of the day. In consequence of robbing the tree Eve was condemned to pain in child-bearing, Adam was condemned to till a soil accursed with weeds, and the serpent was deprived of limbs.

I have met with three explanations of this myth. The first is that no explanation is needed. There is no allegory to unfold. These

things happened and have been recorded faithfully. The second explanation is Shelley's. In the notes to *Queen Mab* he says:

> 'The allegory of Adam and Eve eating of the tree of evil and entailing upon their posterity the wrath of God and the loss of everlasting life admits of no other explanation than the disease and crime that have flowed from unnatural diet'.

The context, a plea for vegetarianism, indicates that the forbidden fruit is meat. The third explanation I have found in Dr. S. Herbert's book, *The Unconscious Mind*, where he reports that—

> 'the whole story of the temptation of Adam and Eve has been interpreted as a symbolic representation of sexual congress, though its original meaning is greatly disguised in the Bible by displacement'.

I do not propose to deal with the first two explanations because I have independent proof of the truth of the third.

The Maori folk of New Zealand have preserved oral traditions telling how their fathers came from Irahia (the Dravidian name for India), from the hot land that lay beneath the great snow-clad mountains of Hikurangi and Irirangi. In this land they say that the staple food was ari (in the Dravidian 'ari' signifies rice). And before that again their ancestors are stated to have lived many leagues to the westward in the cradle land of Uru, which Mr. Elsdon Best, the greatest living authority on the Maori, thinks to have been Ur of the Chaldees, midway between Babylon and the sea. These, and many other evidences too numerous to enter upon here, leave the Asiatic origin of the Maori legend beyond dispute. Now the latent content of the Hebrew myth of the creation of man has been borne from Mesopotamia eastwards to India, and before the birth of Christ it was speeding thence on its long sea-voyage to the Southern Pacific. The Maori legend of Tiki-te-po-mua and the woman born of a reflection is the Hebrew legend of Adam and Eve in its more primitive, original and unglossed form. Mr. Best reports the native version more laconically than the scribe of Genesis:

> 'Tiki-te-po-mua was the first man. He found himself surrounded by all the living creatures of earth, and long sought a companion among them without success. Sorely he felt his lonely condition. One day he found himself beside a pool of clear water, and was delighted to see in it a being of his own form. He endeavoured to seize and secure the image, but the reflection

eluded him. He long sought to secure a mate such as he had seen but without avail. One day, during the act of micturition, a pit he had formed in the earth became filled and to his delight he saw therein the being he had so long sought. He quickly procured earth and deposited it in the pit to confine the creature he had seen. That reflection developed into a female, a woman, who came forth and became the companion of Tiki.

'Tiki and the woman born of reflection dwelt together for some time. Then, one day when the woman was bathing an eel came round her body, and, with his tail, so excited the woman that there was awakened in her the sexual desire. She then went to seek Tiki, and succeeded in exciting him to an equal extent, hence there came to them the knowledge. This act was viewed as a most serious hara (misdemeanour, sin), hence Tiki, knowing that the eel had caused the woman to lead him astray, resolved to take vengeance. He therefore slew the eel and cut him into six pieces. From those six pieces sprang the six varieties of eels known to man.'[1]

At first sight the differences between the Maori and the Hebraic myth seem to outweigh the similarities. The first woman in the Taranaki version, quoted above, is not formed from a rib of the first man, but from his image cast in a pit during micturition. Again, she is not made by a God who is a Maker of the man as of herself, but the man creates her. Her evil counsellor is not the serpent but the eel. The serpent leads her astray by words; the eel by action. And there is no Tree of the knowledge of Good and Evil in the Maori legend, nor any forbidden fruit.

However, there are equally obvious similarities. The creation of man precedes the creation of woman. In neither legend is woman created in her own right. In both she is contemptuously fashioned from some male by-product, and far more contemptuously so in the Maori than in the Hebrew version. The eel, although not the serpent, is in external appearance the nearest approximation to it in New Zealand. And the Maori, bringing his serpent cult from India and the Land of Two Rivers, would naturally in time attach it to the eel. In both legends it is the woman that obtains the knowledge from the eel-serpent, and by communicating it to the man brings sin into the

[1] Extract from *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. XXXII, Nos 2 and 3, p. 56.

world. Finally, in both legends, vengeance is meted out to the subtile seducer.

These similarities are too consistent to be attributed to coincidence. And the differences are not all unresolvable. Io, the Parentless, Io of the Hidden Face, the Supreme Lord and Giver of all in the Maori cosmogony, did not interfere with the world of his making. He fashioned it, handed it over to his departmental gods, and stood aloof for all time. So he could not be expected to create Tiki and the woman born of reflection as God made Adam and, after a surgical operation, Eve. The Maori has preserved an incantation in another version of the legend of the eel and the seduction. In this legend the eel violates Hina, the wife of Maui. Hina tells Maui of this. Maui arranges a series of nine skids down to the river, and hides himself in the frondage near by while Hina displays herself to the eel and lures him out of the water with false promises. Maui recited a charm as Tuna, the eel, crawled over the skids :—

' Mata Tuna ki te rango tuatahi
Ko Ira i, ko Ira i, ko Ira i, to ro wai.'

Having recited it nine times, once for each skid, he emerged from his ambush and chopped Tuna into small pieces. Now the second line : ko Ira, ko Ira, ko Ira, Ira of the waters, preserves a word, ' Ira ', that is found nowhere else in the Maori. Tuna is the ordinary term for eel. It is Mr. Best's belief that the Maori has preserved the name of the Indian eel-god, Ira, in the couplet. The alternative name of Ira in India was Indra, which is the Persian word for the serpent. So there is an etymological connection between the eel and the serpent as well as a similarity of appearance.

As for the final difference, the absence of the tree and the apple in the Maori legend, that is easily explained. For the eel openly violates the woman. The legend has worked down into common speech, and in the Maori the eel's tail is known as *tara puremu* and *hiku rekareka*, the former meaning adulterous female organ, the latter pleasant or tickling tail. So there is no need of the euphemism of the serpent enticing the woman to eat an apple. Nevertheless the Maori does use an analogous euphemism elsewhere. *Te kai ai Tiki*, the food of Tiki, signifies sexual congress. The two really important differences in the legends are differences that we should expect a more refined race to impose on the legend of its more primitive forebears. The creation of woman from a pit for micturition was an offence against good taste, as

was also the excitation of sexual desire by the serpent's tail. So in Genesis we find the substitution of the rib and the apple tree. And the serpent is not obviously a symbol of the male organ in Genesis ; but the eel obviously is in the Maori legend. And by the Maori legend we know the serpent for what he really is.

In view of this evidence it must be admitted that Mr. Best is correct when he says :—

> ' We have here in this Maori story the old-old myth of the primal sin, as held in far-off Babylon and Sumeria. Here is the true, original version of the story of Eve and the serpent, of which a very euphemistic version has reached Europe.'

Here then is one case where the serpent is not a symbol of immortality. I append a bibliography of a few passages in literature where again the serpent is not a symbol of immortality but a symbol of sex. This convergence of evidence from scattered sources is not necessarily indicative of any innate basis for the symbolism. Maori and Jew and Gentile all have the legend of the creation and fall of man from the one source ; and the prestige attached to the legend by its association with the Christian Church is sufficient to explain the widespreading of its symbolism throughout a European culture.

1. Ralph Hodgson. *Poems* (1917), ' Eva ', pp. 8–11.

2. Morike. ' Maiden's First Love Song ', *vide* Jung, *Psychology of the Unconscious* (translated, Beatrice Hinkle), p. 11.

3. Blake. *Collected Poems*. Oxford edition (edited by John Sampson). ' I saw a Chapel all of Gold ', p. 110 ; quoted by Herbert, ' *The Unconscious Mind*, p. 210.

4. Shelley. *Laon and Cythna*, Canto I, Stanzas XVI to XXI.

5. Swinburne. *Poems and Ballads, First Series*. ' Faustine ', ' Dolores ', ' Hesperia '.

6. Purnell. *The Worship of the Serpent and other Poems* (Whitcombe and Tombs).

7. Flaubert. *Salammbo* (edited by E. Lauvriere in Oxford Higher French series), pp. 152–3 ; in the Lotus Series, translated by J. W. Matthews, pp. 252–3.

8. R. L. Hine. *Dreams and the Way of Dreams* (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1913), p. 232.

9. Sir Arthur Evans. *The Palace of Minos at Knossus*, frontispiece and pp. 495 et seq.

These last two references are not cases of symbolism as unequivocal as the earlier ones. Number 8 is a reference to serpents in a dream of a

marriage, valuable as coming from an opponent of psycho-analysis. Number 9 is an account of the snake-goddess of Crete, whose appearance is the only indication of the nature of the cult dedicated to her.

R. F. Fortune (Wellington, New Zealand).

THE APPEARANCE IN A DREAM OF A LOST MEMORY

A patient came to me for treatment on account of difficulties arising out of his character, which was of the obsessional neurotic type. At the bottom of his trouble was the influence exercised on his mind by repressed sexual observation of the parents in early childhood. The dominating factor in his neurosis was the conflict between the positive and negative sides of the Œdipus complex. He had identified himself with each of the two partners in the act he had witnessed, and could not definitely renounce either of the possibilities of pleasure which it presented. In childhood he had identified himself principally with his father, and this had kept him well on the whole; at the same time, from his sixth year onwards, he had had a regular love-relation with a younger sister. Later, however, in the homosexual *milieu* of war-service the hitherto repressed mother-identification broke through and he fell ill with every indication of a heavy sense of guilt. The neurosis became manifest in his relations with a mistress who had previously belonged to an officer of a higher rank than himself. I must mention that, when we were analysing the castration-anxiety, the idea of a *vagina dentata* which might swallow the patient up re-awakened a peculiar sensation, which he had known in childhood but had forgotten until his analysis. He could not express it in words, but the attempt to do so ran as follows: 'with tremendous speed—in fæces—downwards'.

When the analysis had already reached an advanced stage the patient heard that his younger sister had become engaged to be married. The material which came up as a result of this current event threw a new light on the extraordinarily strong sadism of the patient. This was no longer directed, as we had hitherto supposed, towards the two parents. His cruel impulses towards them included not only the idea of killing either of them, in order to make sexual intercourse possible with the other, but also that of coitus itself conceived sadistically. We now found that the sadistic tendencies were also aimed at a brother

who existed merely in phantasy. Not only had the patient suddenly torn out the hair of a dog which was very much attached to him, and caused it to bite him, but he had furiously and persistently killed little beetles which crawled out of an ash-pit, and he dreamed that he was thrusting playmates over a precipice. It was suggested that some gynæcological illness of his mother, to which he had often referred, might possibly have been a miscarriage, and that his hatred was raging against a brother who had never been born. He then had a very dim memory: he thought he really had been told that he was going to have a brother, and afterwards his mother fell ill.

After another letter from his engaged sister he produced a peculiar ' dream of down below ' which he recounted with extraordinary affective disturbance and which he associated with the sensation of ' with tremendous speed—in fæces—downwards '; the whole dream, he said, had been accompanied by this sensation. This dream which the patient, whose mother-tongue is not German, subsequently wrote down may be literally translated thus:

' Suddenly I hear a loud cry. I run in the direction of the sound and open the door of the room whence the cry comes. There I see a naked woman, whose genitals are being bitten by a small white dog, so that they are bleeding. I drive the dog away and chase it. As I overtake it, it turns into a very disgusting kind of beetle, which when I was a child used to live in our ash-pit, but this one is red, swollen with blood and about thirty centimetres long. I tread on its tail and it wriggles. I leave it there and want to go back to the woman whom I have rescued. But I am in the city and I cannot find my way. I go into a lavatory and there I see in the pan an enormous mass, like a brain. It is a brain or fæces. It is dark red in colour. As I look at it, it suddenly vanishes. It is so heavy that it pushes down the trap of itself. I suddenly become conscious that I am very ill. I am " ill of fæces "; I have to go to a watering-place and so I go to G., a little watering-place near my home. There is a woman-doctor there who can cure people who are " ill of fæces ". When I get there I see written up on a board that three out of five of these patients have died. I dream something else as well: I think, memories of bathing in childhood '.

It is not to be wondered at if at first no associations would come to a dream of this sort. But the patient cleared the way to a complete understanding of it by selecting one part to be discussed more in detail: the mass in the lavatory, which looked like a brain. His

association to this was a dish of brains cooked with eggs. But it was not brains of this sort: it consisted at the same time of blood and excrement, and it was dark-red. He could not get rid of this impression. It was also a loaf of bread, or at any rate something to eat—something between brains, blood, fæces and bread. He still saw the form quite clearly in front of him. It was not like bread because there were excrescences with holes between, all over it, as there are over the cerebrum, but the excrescences and holes were only on one side; the back of it was smooth and covered with something like a dark-red skin. He saw this skin, which was smeared with blood and excrement, fall down. It was a darker red than the mass itself, which was spotted with white. This description could not be misunderstood. 'Do you know what the placenta is?' I asked the patient. 'Yes, it is what comes away after the child at birth. Why do you ask?' 'Do you know what it looks like?' 'I have not the slightest idea'. I fetched a book with anatomical plates and showed him a placenta. 'But that was what I dreamt', he cried; he was tremendously excited and looked upon it as a marvel which he could not explain that he could have dreamt of something which he did not know. I told him that he must have known it once, and that there was nothing so very remarkable in repressed impressions from the subject's third year emerging without change in a dream.

After this discovery it is not difficult to account for the complete absence of associations to the first part of the dream. It was a repetition-dream, which gave us the history of the infantile trauma, whose existence we had already hypothetically inferred from the analysis. His mother had given birth to another son, but he was still-born. In real life the patient again received a brother in the person of his brother-in-law. The wish in the first part of the dream was: May it end as well as it did that other time! Clearly, on the early occasion he had heard his mother cry out and had run into her room. The white dog, which he saw at first, perhaps represented white linen. The fact that a newly-hatched beetle, which in the guise of the dog had bitten the mother's genitals and made them bleed, is red and exactly 30 centimetres long, would seem to show that the child saw not only the placenta but the prematurely-born fœtus. (It could not have been anything else.) He trampled on and crushed this beetle, i.e. he held himself responsible for his little brother's death, because he had wickedly wished it might happen. When he wanted to return to the woman he had rescued (his mother), he was in the city and could not find his way. This meant:

' I don't understand what is happening '. Whilst he was brooding on it he found ' in the closet ' the placenta, which made the matter even more mysterious. He probably saw it in some receptacle, with other objects which he must have taken to be fæces.

The patient at once confirmed this analysis by producing further associations, which explained the second part of the dream. We now learn the meaning of the ' illness of fæces '. As a child he had often dirtied his knickerbockers, and he was told that only children who were ill did that. And, sure enough, his mother proved to him that to have a child meant a bad illness. He himself bore not children but fæces. When he noticed in the dream that he had an ' illness of fæces ' he was identifying himself with the mother in childbirth. Afterwards his mother did actually go to get well at the watering-place which, later in childhood, he constantly yearned to visit and which he went to in the dream, thus putting himself in every respect in his mother's place. The woman-doctor who cured the ' fæces-illness ' was an old cook, who used to play with his genital, and probably also washed him when he had made himself dirty,—thus curing his ' fæces-illness '. The element in the dream, ' Three out of five have died ', meant that of the five brothers and sisters (besides his younger sister he had two elder ones, so that, counting the untimely-born infant, they were five altogether), three were to die ; only he and the younger sister, with whom he had had a sexual relation, were to survive. (Or possibly he disregarded the elder sisters and meant that his mother, the baby and the younger sister were to die, and he and his father to survive.)

As we should expect, the further associations to the ' fæces-illness ' led straight to the castration-complex. He had anticipated that his mother would die at the watering-place. If, identifying himself with her, he wanted a child from his father, he himself, like his mother, would have to die. He had been threatened that he would die if he dirtied his knickerbockers. Hence the symbolic equation : to be ' ill of fæces '—to have children—to die—to be castrated. Once he was given a big sailor-cap like his sisters', and he made a great fuss, because he did not want to be a girl, and ended by throwing it into the water-closet. Thus, if one is identified with the mother, one catches the illness from the father. As long as he threw the sailor-cap (the instrument of castration), like the beetles, straight into the closet, in order to remain a male and like his father, he kept well. Indeed, in his seventeenth year he brought about a repetition of the primal scene by having coitus with a nursemaid in the presence of a little child, that is, in

complete identification with his own father. When, during his war-service, the temptation was too great for him and he found himself under two kindly superior officers in contrast to many hostile ones, his homosexuality broke through and, in his longing to have a child, he regressed to the old mother-identification, which brought with it a new form of illness; he immediately developed an obsessional neurosis which, inasmuch as it belongs to the anal-sadistic level of organization, really did represent an 'illness of fæces'. What wonder that, when he longed to be cured, he thought it could only be by way of identification with the father, and therefore in his dream substituted a woman for the male physician who was treating him.

The patient never had a feeling that he remembered his mother's miscarriage, which we inferred from the analysis and supposed him to have witnessed. But we had a whole series of indications and indirect confirmations of our hypothesis.

Otto Fenichel (Berlin).

ABSTRACTS

General

Ian D. Suttie. An Unwarranted Accretion to the Freudian Theory. *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 1925, Vol. V, p. 83.

This paper is a criticism of Freud's acceptance of the Recapitulation Theory in mental development. Suttie's objections are based on some of the following factors. Freud's theory does not assist our understanding of evolution and does not claim any heuristic validity on that ground. Onto-phylogenetic parallelism is much less pronounced in regard to behaviour than in regard to structure. Because this parallelism is not obvious it fails to form a natural starting point for further enquiries as in the case of organic recapitulation. If the evidence for mental recapitulation is convincing, why is it never adduced? In *Totem and Taboo*, Freud develops a theory of 'unconscious tradition' in order to explain the resemblance between infantile and archaic thought processes. Later, in what the author considers a most irritating and casual way, he resorts to biological interpretations. In *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, Freud refers to recapitulation as an accepted fact. References to recapitulation are also quoted from the *Introductory Lectures* and *Leonardo da Vinci*. Suttie supposes that owing to his hypothesis of 'unconscious tradition' and the absence of reference to phylogeny in his earlier works Freud did not originally found upon the 'biogenetic law' but accepted it from others. Freud implies that because evolution has dissociated the genitals from the mouth, anus or limbs, the reactive disposition of sex passes through alimentary, excretory and motor phases. There is thus an instinctive recapitulation which organic recapitulation fails to record and which tell us not only about the behaviour of organic forms but about their structure! Having taken such liberties with biology and scientific measures, Freud fails to develop or apply his theory. It is suggested that there is not the same reason for postulating recapitulation in psychology as in the case of biology. Mental activities are not meaningless, functionless or non-responsive as, for example, the transient appearance of gill-clefts are in the ontogeny of man. The psycho-analytical acceptance of the recapitulation theory is a bad psychological method, it suggests an attempt to explain the known in terms of the unknown. It is an *interest* not strictly relevant to psycho-pathology. The corresponding biological attempt to discover the course of evolution by a study of ontogeny has been totally unsuccessful and was abandoned by Haeckel.

Robert M. Riggall.

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E. Pickworth Farrow. A Method of Self-Analysis. *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 1926, Vol. V, p. 106.

The author claims that by his method of self-analysis he has been able to recover from the ill-effects of a large number of former repressions and complexes. He states that he has recollected and removed most of his Œdipus complex and has been able to recover an incident occurring about the age of six months. He considers that a transference relationship to an analyst was unnecessary in his case and states that the therapeutic results were better than those obtained from his two previous analytical experiences with qualified analysts. The method employed was to write down whatever occurred to the conscious mind from second to second during the analytical period. It was found that the writing of intruding and interrupting thoughts did not obliterate the original association but enriched it on its recurrence. The note-taking was found to be preferable to dictating free associations to a recording machine. The author regards his method as particularly applicable to those shy people who find it difficult to relate their intimate thoughts to another. He states that it differs from morbid introspection and renders the mind clearer, reducing nervousness by dissipating repressed emotion. The removal of this emotion is painful and requires great determination. Examples of free association which revealed the origin of his interest in antiques (cleared up after eleven hours) and astronomy (cleared up after seventeen hours) are given.

Robert M. Riggall.

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H. Crichton Miller. Adaptation, Successful and Unsuccessful. *The Post-Graduate Medical Journal*, February, 1926, Vol. I, No. 5, p. 60.

Dr. Miller says, ' To Freud we owe all modern psychology ', but it is evident that what psychology appears in this paper is not of the nature that Freud has evolved, therefore it must be regarded as the ' sterile academic ' type. The author complains that in psychology other than Freud's the ' unconscious motive is to all intents and purposes omitted ', yet we hear very little about the ' unconscious motive ' in his paper, while to the conscious one is assigned the chief importance. Such being the case, our knowledge of adaptation is not advanced.

D. B.

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Clinical

Wilhelm Reich. Der psychogene Tic als Onanieäquivalent. *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, 11, 12.

This report refers to a case from the Viennese Psycho-Analytical Clinic which for internal and external reasons was not suitable for psychoanalysis. When hypnotism also failed Kohnstamm's palimnestic method was tried. The patient was a virgin of forty-seven who suffered from a psycho-genetic tic of the diaphragm and from obsessional symptoms.

While she was under light hypnosis she was told to dream about certain subjects. The author was tempted ' to find out how far one could penetrate into the unconscious without a formal overcoming of the resistances '.

The result showed that for a doctor versed in psycho-analysis such penetration is certainly possible, but that there comes a point at which the resistances set up an insuperable barrier to these methods of investigation. Thus the patient responded to a demand that she should dream about the meaning of the tic in earlier days with a dream of symbolic defloration. When asked to dream of the cause of her periodical nervous insomnia, she had a dream in which a young man was playing the piano with a sister of hers. She herself became jealous, and wanted to play on her own piano, but the music was taken away from her. Following on this dream the patient's unconscious jealousy and desire to masturbate came into consciousness ; she began to do so, and directly afterwards the tic stopped, which showed it to be a substitute for onanism. The further order to dream about the kind of onanism, and about her mother's prohibitions against onanism, still produced light on the patient's castration complex. She dreamed about herself as having ' mutilated hands ' and as wearing ' a torn and bloody chemise ', and thereupon produced conversion-symptoms in her arms and hands, which appeared to her ' as dead '. After this, however, any further understanding became impossible. The dream experiments ceased to yield useful results, and the resistances became impenetrable without the help of analysis. The author attributes this to the unresolved transference.

It is interesting that, incidentally, the patient had even before this left unfulfilled a complicated order for a dream, and had dreamt instead that the physician had set her a difficult arithmetical task. Another time, instead of dreaming of an organic illness, she had recapitulated the same in conversion-symptoms.

The tic, which was recognized to be an equivalent for onanism, has disappeared, and in other ways, too, the result attained is quite respectable, even if ' far removed from the ideal psycho-analytic cure '.

Fenichel.

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Smith Ely Jelliffe. Old Age Factor in Psycho-analytical Therapy. *Medical Journal and Record*, 1925, No. 1.

Jelliffe treats of the outlook in using psycho-analysis for patients of advanced years, and reports on his attempts in this direction. He can point to a series of successes, and calls special attention to neuroses in the menopause ; further he mentions cases of old men in whom the decrease of capacity to practise coitus was accompanied by increasing eroticism. This caused frequent excitations which came to nothing, high blood pressure, an inclination to bleeding from the arteries, together with greater mental

irritability and tension. He has had more success with psycho-analysis, or with an intelligent exploration of the patient's psychic situation, than he did in all the twenty years in which he employed dietetic or pharmaceutical methods. It is true that there was in these cases relative youthfulness irrespective of the actual age, which was a decisive factor in the happy result. He also reports failures, but according to him these happen where the solution offered to the patient by the psychosis or neurosis is a better one than that afforded by the physician as the representative of reality.

Two of the five cases described by the author belong to forensic medicine, and Jelliffe's knowledge of psycho-analysis served only for diagnostic purposes. One seventy-year-old man who was caught exhibiting himself publicly was saved from prison and sent to hospital.

The case that is dwelt on at greatest length is that of a spinster fifty-five years old. This woman had suffered since her earliest childhood from anxiety and obsessions, and had endured a dreary chronic psychoneurosis, which seven years previously had developed into a serious psychosis. Notwithstanding this increased difficulty she recovered after four years of treatment. (The actual treatment lasted for fourteen months.) A short ' treatment ' of altogether four sessions cured a railway enginebrakesman, who was sixty-five years old. This man suffered from periodic depression, and he came to realize that the cause was a strong mother identification. His mother had suffered from severe depression during her menstrual periods, and since her death he had imitated her in this ; for four or five days in every month he had been in such a depressed state that he had hardly been able to work, and was full of thoughts of suicide.

In allusion to Professor Freud, who as far back as 1898 was occupied with the difficulty of applying psycho-analysis to older persons, and also to Abraham's more encouraging communication on the same subject of later date (1920), Jelliffe expresses the opinion that with the advancing developments of psycho-analytic technique the age factor has lost some of its importance, that it is often possible to restore the contact with reality which is lost or weakened by age, and that the attempt to do so is worth while, even if every endeavour does not meet with success.

Kata Lévy.

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L. Pierce Clark. The Need of Psycho-Analytical Clinics and Institutes in America. *Medical Journal and Record*, March 3, 1926, p. 287.

The author strongly advocates the setting up of Psycho-Analytical Clinics in America, and gives an account of the Berlin Psycho-Analytical Polyclinic. In conclusion he submits :

1. That psycho-analytical clinics and institutes are a necessary part of our armamentarium for the therapeutic alleviation of the large mass of neurotics who cannot afford to pay for psycho-analysis as now practised.

2. That such clinics are necessary for maintaining a consistent school in

the training of psychiatrists and psycho-analysts, and thus obviate the present tendency to quackery in this speciality, the detailment of which is the active agitation of the daily press and which is largely due to our neuropsychiatric neglect.

3. That these clinics should be independent in organization but allied to our medical schools and hospitals.

4. That full-time service of the resident staff should be expected with a controlling or advisory board of analysts to support and give direction to the therapeutic and didactic work of the clinic or institute.

D. B.

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E. Miller. The Relationships of the Neuroses. *Psyche*, 1925, Vol. V, p. 344.

The author presents a classification by means of a genealogy. In man the conflict of phylogeny and ontogeny becomes proportionately more acute. A genealogical system of classification should indicate the causal factors underlying the syndrome. A neurosis is defined as a disturbance of the harmonious relationship existing between psychological and neurological processes. Basing his remarks on Freud's theory of life and death instincts, the author thinks that ego instincts tend to produce an introverted type of reaction, while sex instincts, owing to their centrifugal action, produce extroversion. Emotional activity is thus either dissipated or held within the system. The normally equilibrated person reacts in both ways, but accentuation early in life of the sexual or ego instincts produces extroversion or introversion. Having discussed the different reactions of these types to the psycho-galvanometer the author ventures into the field of endocrinology, and suggests that in the anxiety states there is overactivity of the suprarenals and thyroid, while in the feeble-minded there is probably a deficiency. He thinks that it may be possible to establish more or less definite endocrine patterns. Tentatively discussing anthropological relationships to the two distinct types it is suggested that striking similarities between primitive types and certain degenerate types of the present time may in the future lead to some relationship on which classes can be based. In drawing his genealogical tree, Miller places introversion on the left arm and traces phobias, obsessions and hysterical conversions to states of diffuse anxiety. The paranoia group is also descended from these anxiety states. Paranoia is placed on the introvert side because it is a defence psychosis with an outstanding ego-striving thwarted by some early sexual struggle for extroversion which has failed. On the right arm we find extroversion: diffuse hysteria leading to anxiety hysteria, hysterical conversion and manic depression. Basing his remarks on Freud's *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, it is suggested that in hysterical dissociation there may be a partial death due to the withdrawal of the ego from its body as

object of love. This bifurcation of the two reaction types is an attempt to explain the major conflict of sex *versus* ego.

Robert M. Riggall.

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A. F. Tredgold. The Definition and Diagnosis of Moral Imbecility. *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 1926, Vol. VI, p. 1.

The legal concept of moral imbecility is that of a combination of mental defect and marked misconduct. Having traced the evolution of the moral sentiment, Tredgold states that there is an important difference between moral sentiment, which is emotional and conative, and moral perception, which is purely intellectual. He believes in the existence of an innate potentiality for the development of moral sense. Correct conduct is dependent on the degree of development which the controlling functions of mind have attained and the strength of the innate tendencies to be controlled. The latter vary considerably in different individuals. In a large number of cases where moral sense is poorly developed there is sufficient wisdom to control misbehaviour. Tredgold believes that the psychological basis of moral imbecility consists of an innate defect of moral sense and wisdom, associated with strong anti-social tendencies. The definition of moral imbecility is accurate, but he would substitute ' defective ' for ' imbecile ' ; Burt's term of ' temperamental defective ' is apt to lead to confusion. He would hesitate to diagnose the condition before adolescence.

Robert M. Riggall.

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Cyril Burt. The Definition and Diagnosis of Moral Imbecility. *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 1926, Vol. VI, p. 10.

In dealing with the theoretical conceptions of the moral imbecile, Burt discusses earlier psychological hypotheses and shows that the idea of a specific moral faculty sprang from the intuitionists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Moral sense was depicted as a kind of inherited conscience. Morality can rest upon no simple innate intuition, but must be learnt afresh by each individual. The modern view is that ' conscience ' is the name given to a complicated aggregate of certain apperceptive systems. Moral character rests on certain inborn dispositions, but never was itself inborn. Discussing various views regarding alleged innate deficiency of moral inhibition, Burt points out that inhibition is now regarded not as a positive function of some particular centre, but as a secondary and negative effect of any and all nervous activity. Commenting on the bearing which the herd instinct has on moral sense, it is shown that here we find a considerable risk of over-simplification. Rees Thomas has recognized this danger and points out that the moral outcome of the herd instinct will largely depend upon the morality of the herd among which the individual happens to be cast. The moral imbecile cannot simply be

defined as a person deficient in the social instinct, because other instincts, such as submission, fear and affection, are in early life more active than the gregarious tendencies. The axiom that whatever mental capacity is to be the subject of innate deficiency must itself be innate excludes Tredgold's ' moral sentiment ', for moral sentiments are not inborn. Few persons develop a single sense for morality as such. Tredgold's account of the nature and development of moral sentiments is accepted (emotions associated with the idea of some moral person or principle). But Tredgold, having clearly pointed out how these sentiments are acquired, suddenly talks of ' an innate defect of the moral sentiment '. If the moral sentiment is acquired by experience, how can its defects be innate ? It is simply an unproved and unserviceable assumption. Tredgold hesitates to diagnose moral imbecility until late adolescence. Rees Thomas has shown that nothing but prolonged analysis could ever prove that moral sentiments had been defective from birth or from an early age. Also analysis has always shown the condition to be due to some post-natal cause.

Burt divides mental deficiency into temperamental and intellectual types. It is extremely rare for a person of high intellect to be a temperamental defective. He sums up his objections to the clause defining the moral imbecile in the Act of 1913 as follows : The persons designated by the term are not imbeciles but belong to a higher grade known as ' feeble-minded '. Morality is not an innate faculty but is an acquired quality. Moral and immoral actions are influenced by innate conditions which are not themselves moral qualities, the commonest innate defect being defect of intelligence. Other innate conditions affecting moral conduct are temperamental rather than moral and this suggests the term ' temperamental deficiency ' as a substitute for ' moral imbecility '. This term is recognized as psychological rather than legal, and it does not imply that the temperamental defective will always evince incorrigible habits of vice and crime. The differential diagnosis of temperamental deficiency depends on four points. The condition is emotional rather than intellectual. It is *innate* and therefore permanent, and so excludes adolescent instability, psychoneuroses, psychoses, criminal and vicious habits. The condition is concerned with general instinctive or emotional excess rather than with the over-development of any specific propensity. The excessive emotionality must be so extreme that the person needs protecting for his own sake as well as for that of others. Roughly, it includes those whose emotional control is less than 50 per cent., e.g. a child of ten behaving like a child of five (if his arrested development is not due to repressed complexes). However it is interpreted or defined by modern authorities it seems to be generally agreed that cases falling under this heading are exceptional and much less common than those defective in intelligence. The clause defining moral imbecility has become almost a dead letter.

Robert M. Riggall.

M. Hamblin Smith. The Definition and Diagnosis of Moral Imbecility. *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 1926, Vol. VI, p. 47.

Hamblin Smith refuses to recognize the existence of moral imbecility as all the alleged cases which he has seen could either have been defined as feeble-mindedness, or else have been cases of definite psychosis, or of mental conflict and repression. The definition is superfluous and misleading. The term should be dropped. He dismisses the idea that any absolute system of morality can exist and points out that those observers who contend for the existence of a ' moral sense ' seemed compelled, logically, to assert the existence of some absolute system and appear to think that their system is infallible, or that the so-called absolute system is variable. Every person is born without moral sense; later, when the pleasure-principle comes into conflict with the reality-principle, the individual adapts himself to his environment. The existence of the herd instinct does not imply that man is born with a desire to adapt himself to society. Many instances of so-called moral imbecility are actually cases of mental conflict which theoretically are curable. Many cases exhibiting active anti-social characteristics are really cases of dementia præcox; these are the only ones which could properly be called ' moral imbeciles '.

Robert M. Riggall.

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W. Rees Thomas. The Definition and Diagnosis of Moral Imbecility. *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 1926, Vol. VI, p. 55.

The moral sense constitutes the ability to maintain a more or less proper relation between the social and egotistical tendencies. The social instinct originated, in point of time, little later than the egotistical. In adult life when the herd instinct fails to develop, it becomes perverted as in the case of the sexual instinct. Rees Thomas cannot therefore subscribe to the view that the patient has no moral sense, as this term refers to the resultant of numerous forces and does not explain causation. Having paid tribute to Freud's researches, he emphasizes the fact that a great number of cases of anti-social conduct can be cured by psycho-analysis. For practical purposes cases are classified as curable and incurable. The only certain permanent mental defect discovered is the presence of a psychosis or psychoneurosis. He agrees with Burt's classification of intellectual and temperamental types. General emotional instability existing apart from acquired mental disorders has not been found associated with normal intelligence in the cases at Rampton. As Burt finds, the presence of high intelligence in a temperamental defective must be extremely rare. To Burt's two classes he would add a third, in which acquired psychoses or neuro-psychoses constitute the permanent mental defect.

Robert M. Riggall.

F. C. Shrubsall. The Definition and Diagnosis of Moral Imbecility. *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 1926, Vol. VI, p. 70.

The Act is an attempt to meet the public demand for dealing with certain persons who are a danger to the community and does not attempt to define syndromes of clinical or psychic phenomena. The problem is social and legal to a greater extent than medical or psychological, and there should be no objection to lawful extensions of the meanings of the words. The term ' moral imbecile ' has been employed for the following types: (1) For the definitely feeble-minded in whom criminal conduct has been prominent. (2) For higher grade cases of feebleness of mind whose general conduct showed a lack of wisdom. (3) For cases showing signs of definite organic lesions the onset of which had been followed by changes in conduct but, in some, by relatively little impairment of intelligence. (4) For cases of definite or incipient psychosis with or without lowering of intelligence. (5) For fairly intelligent individuals of the psychoneurotic type. (6) For certain cases of sexual perversion without obvious mental disturbance. (7) For certain unstable individuals with moderate retardation in intelligence but with childish emotional reactions to reality, corresponding to Burt's ' temperamental defectives '. (8) For ordinary recidivists, which cases should not be classified as moral imbeciles. (9) For certain callous, ruthless individuals not lacking in intelligence. This group is typical of the definition. This wide reading of the Act by the medical and judicial authorities makes it possible to certify cases which might be cured by psychotherapy, and to label as permanent moral defect symptoms of temporary suppressions or repressions. Shrubsall believes the essence of the defect to be lack of feeling tone, which keeps the social reactions at an infantile level and checks the action of the herd instinct.

Robert M. Riggall.

BOOK REVIEWS

Collected Papers, Vol. III. By Sigmund Freud, M.D., LL.D. Authorized Translation by Alix and James Strachey. (Hogarth Press and The Institute of Psycho-Analysis, London, 1925. Pp. 607. Price 30*s*.)

Up to the present time those who have been debarred by linguistic difficulties from following the gradual development of psycho-analytical theory have found themselves in the anomalous position of being able to study the most recent of Freud's writings with at the most a second-hand acquaintance with important transitional periods in the growth of his psycho-analytic teaching. The appearance of this third volume of Freud's *Collected Papers* removes one of the most serious of these obstacles. It comprises those clinical records which Freud has published *in extenso* and is formally described as a volume of Case Histories. Only in a very limited sense is this designation adequate. Unlike so many clinical records, Freud's case-histories are not presented in illustration of preconceived theories; they are themselves integral parts of the development of a science. Nothing is more fascinating than to retrace the steps by which the accepted conclusions of to-day were originally formulated and sustained in the face of quite unique difficulties. More easily perhaps than with any other of Freud's published works can we get into a state of *rapport* with the working of the author's mind. Simple and masterly presentation of each case, judicial consideration and solution of difficulties, unequivocal presentation of conclusions, each serving as a starting-point for further advances, are combined with an easy knack of exposition, a ready wit in illustration and, when occasion demands, a merciful pungency in dealing with attacks on the foundations of his theory. In the end we are left with an impression of freshness and intimacy which can but rarely be produced by any writer of clinical treatises. If any confirmation were needed of the accuracy of this impression, it is to be found in the fact that the footnotes and corrections added by Freud himself in 1923 refer to a small minority of the findings published as far back as 1905.

As has been said, these are no mere case-histories. They contain not only detailed studies in practical analysis, together with extended examples of dream interpretation, but are accompanied by reasoned papers on each clinical condition, while there is hardly a page but is seasoned with aphorisms dealing with every conceivable aspect of psycho-analytic work. This fact alone makes it practically impossible to write anything approaching a systematic review of the book. One cannot help thinking that, should it ever prove feasible to publish a volume of psycho-analytical aphorisms, the greater part of any such collection would be culled from the present volume. To give one illustration: the 'Analysis of a Case of

Hysteria ', with which the volume commences, deals with, in addition to the main subject of investigation, such various matters as the following : the technique of spontaneous association, the evasion of repression by dreams, the relation of doubt to repression, the reversal of affect, the nature of somatic compliance, the problems of paranosic and epinosic gain (on which points some alteration of his views is recorded), the alleged dangers of ' corruption ' through psycho-analysis, the simultaneous and successive meanings of a symptom, the limits to psychological influence, the postponed resolution of symptoms and various comments on the technique of dream interpretation.

Considerations of space and the existence of an adequate index (at the end of Vol. IV) make it unnecessary to continue such digests. Some brief reference must, however, be made to the nature of the other histories. From the clinical point of view, the ' Analysis of a Phobia in a Five-year-old Boy ' might well be described as a fundamental study in the castration complex. Dynamically speaking it is a study in symptom formation and *a priori* a consideration of the processes of repression. Ever since its publication in 1909, the history of ' little Hans ' has continued to serve as a text for analytical writers, and it is interesting to note that in his latest work (*Hemmung, Symptom und Angst*, 1926), Freud makes use of further study of the same case to clarify current views on the action of repression in phobia construction. As a matter of historical interest, we find expressed in this paper the view that analysis is not intended so much to undo the effects of repression as to replace repression by condemnation, a view which has been extended recently by Alexander into one of the resolution of super-ego control of instinct.

The ' Case of Obsessional Neurosis ' provides the groundwork essential for any understanding of this condition, while the fact that this particular history has not been so extensively quoted in subsequent writings will contribute to the freshness of effect it produces. The theoretical section of the paper contains the first comprehensive formulation of the structure of obsessional symptoms and, read in conjunction with Freud's earlier contributions on the ' Defence Neuroses ' (Vol. I), is a suitable preparation for study of stages of pregenital development (see ' The Predisposition to Obsessional Neurosis ', etc., Vol. II). Here, too, is to be found the first description of that emotional constellation to which Bleuler at a later date gave the name of ambivalence, and among numerous other contributions to understanding of obsessional neurosis the references to the part played by the sense of smell are worthy of being singled out.

For those who wish to trace the stages by which different phases of pregenital libido development were mapped out, the next paper on ' A Case of Paranoia ' is opportunely placed. In the ' Predisposition ' paper, which describes the separation out of an anal-sadistic phase, one misses a more detailed *résumé* of previous subdivisions, in particular the recognition

of a narcissistic stage of libido organization. Now that the Schreber case is available, this deficiency no longer exists, and moreover we can familiarize ourselves with clinical observations which were given theoretical valuation in Freud's work on ' Narcissism ' (Vol. IV). The main theme, viz. the inter-relation of narcissism, homosexuality and paranoia, is of course familiar to all psycho-analytical readers, but the ground covered is much more extensive than the title would lead one to suppose. For example, the concepts of cathexis, fixation and regression are explained and are given clinical illustration in this paper, and the rôle of the fixation point (or points) in the three stages of repression is explained. Of historical interest is the reference to jealousy and alcoholism, while ' active ' therapists will find here one of the earliest references to the subject of a fixed termination to analytic treatment.

The last paper provides a fitting climax to a notable series of histories. In a sense it is the most dramatic of the series. Technically of course the ' History of an Infantile Neurosis ' is the study of an animal phobia, which was followed some years later by an outbreak of obsessional neurosis ; hence it immediately suggests comparison with the case of ' little Hans '. As a matter of fact it is instructive to compare the processes of repression in each case, to observe how an almost identical symptom construction arises from the repression of quite distinct trends. Renewed interest will be stimulated in these cases by the publication of Freud's treatise to which reference has already been made. This apart, the fascination of the ' History ' undoubtedly centres round the problem of primal scenes. Those who are inclined to make merely opportunist use of analytic interpretation could find no more convincing evidence of the necessity for reconstruction in analysis, and no better example of how this reconstruction can be carried out in the face of difficulties.

In various passages and particularly in the concluding section of the volume certain polemical considerations are brought forward, dealing mainly with criticisms of Freudian theory advanced by Jung and Adler. This recalls an additional source of satisfaction over the appearance of an English translation. English critics of psycho-analysis have on occasion been no more scrupulous in verifying their references than their Continental brothers-in-arms. Now it would be unduly optimistic to assume that an authorized translation would put an end to gross misrepresentation and misquotation on the part of opponents whose heated imaginations lead them to disregard plain veracity. But at least it is no longer possible for the ostensibly fairer-minded amongst their adherents to plead ignorance of the actual texts.

The translation deserves quite unstinted praise. Mr. and Mrs. Strachey have spared no pains to give a perfect rendering of the original, and English-speaking psycho-analytical communities are under deep obligation to them for the way in which they have captured the spirit of Freud's vigorous

if at times rather condensed style. They have given us vivid reproductions of ' little Hans ', ' Dora ', ' Judge Schreber ' and others of the imperishable gallery of psycho-analytical portraiture.

Edward Glover.

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Australian Totemism. A Psycho-Analytic Study in Anthropology. By Géza Róheim, Ph.D. With an introduction by M. D. Eder. (London, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1925. Pp. 487. Price 35*s*.)

This is in more than one respect a remarkable book. To begin with, it is written in English by a Hungarian, a fact for which all English students of anthropology and psycho-analysis should be extremely grateful. In the second place, it was written in Budapest in the period immediately following the Great War, where, as the author reminds us, opportunities for consulting the original literature dealing with the subject were far from favourable. In the third place, it contains in a very high degree all the merits and defects with which readers of Dr. Róheim's previous works will be acquainted. Here, as in those earlier works, the author exhibits throughout the greatest erudition, studies each question as it arises with immense detail, patience and profundity, displays great psychological insight backed by sound appreciation of psycho-analytic doctrine, and at the same time reveals ever and anon a surprising wealth of fertile and suggestive theory. The great advantages which the book thus enjoys are, however, to some extent offset by a lack of form, by serious defects of presentation and by certain literary blemishes that would be fatal to the readability of any lesser work.

Partly owing to these deficiencies and partly owing to the thorough and detailed method of treatment and the complexity of the subject-matter itself, it is a book which makes very considerable demands upon the reader and which is difficult both to summarize and to review. It is a book which really demands a fairly full knowledge of psycho-analysis for its full appreciation, though Dr. Eder's apposite and sympathetic introduction (welcome to all readers as a means of preliminary orientation) will be particularly helpful to those who are bold enough to attempt its assimilation without such previous knowledge.

Since the difficulties of the book may, it is to be feared, tend to limit the number of its readers, it seems worth while to attempt here a fairly full summary of some of the more important of its contents. The warning must be given, however, that owing to the difficulty that the reviewer has had in endeavouring to obtain for himself a reasonably clear impression of the vast but ill-ordered information it contains, the occurrence of misinterpretation or inadequate presentation is unfortunately very possible; no summary, moreover, however adequate, could do justice to the wealth and suggestiveness of the original, which for the serious student either of

psycho-analysis or of anthropology will well repay the time and effort that its attentive perusal will probably be found to require.

Chapter I is devoted to evidence (largely from myth, but to some extent also from custom and organization) of the connection between Totemism and the Œdipus complex. The ' Proto-Totemic Complex ' (which gives its name to the chapter) is described as ' the projection into the environment of these unconscious concepts and feelings which have arisen out of the situation determined by the so-called " Cyclopean " family, thus making certain animal species symbolically representative of the father-mother, etc. complexes ' (p. 57). At first one animal species represented the leader (and also to some extent the horde itself). ' As the gradual check of uncontrolled impulses made it possible for the old and the young generation of men to go on living in the same horde ', the horde came to possess two totems —representative of the fathers and the sons respectively, and many animal myths are shown to represent at this stage the struggle between the two generations ; in these myths Eagle-hawk and Crow seem to be the most widespread and characteristic representatives of father and of son respectively. The dual organization of the horde appears therefore to be connected in its origin with the mutually antagonistic attitude of successive generations.

The second chapter is devoted to Sex-Totems. The Sex-Totem, it would appear, corresponds in general to the secondary fixation of the libido within the family circle, the brother or sister taking the place of the parents. The homosexual attitude, however, predominates at this stage, the sex-totem being regarded as the ' elder brother ' of the men and the ' elder sister ' of the women. Here, as elsewhere, homosexuality reveals its connection with narcissism, for the sex-totem is also the external soul, the narcissistic double of the individual. The emergence of the homosexual element at this point is in accordance with Freud's conjecture that after the murder of the primeval sire the cohesion of the clan must temporarily have been upheld by the homoerotic feelings of the brothers. With regard to the three meanings of the totem as (1) father, (2) elder brother, (3) self, it is the second meaning most frequent in consciousness, ' while the father complex is projected back into the abyss of time ' (p. 78). The antagonism between the sexes characteristic of this stage of development manifests itself in the bloody battles that ensue between men and women when anyone has slain the totem of the opposite sex. The facts, however, (1) that only those who may get married are permitted to take part in a fight of this kind, and (2) that the fight is followed by love-making, indicate that both the killing of the sex-totem and the subsequent fight itself are erotically tinged, having the meaning of a (sadistically conceived) coitus between brother and sister.

The individual totem, as we learn in the next chapter, has much in common with the sex-totem, since it also is a narcissistic projection. But whereas in the sex-totem the libidinal components were predominant, it is

the egotistical elements (as shown by the ideas of the totem giving help, warning in danger, and so on) that are chiefly represented in the individual totem. Following Wundt's classification, two main types of totemism are distinguished. In the Negative Totemism found in the southern and eastern areas of Australia the elements of repression are more marked, totemistic institutions manifesting themselves chiefly in a series of taboos; while the Positive Totemism, characteristic of the central, northern and western areas, is distinguished by a more open manifestation of underlying unconscious tendencies, and is embodied in the reincarnation belief and the Intichiuma ceremonies. Dr. Róheim returns to this subject in the last chapter, where he gives reason to believe that the lesser inhibition characteristic of positive totemism in Australia is due to a return of the repressed rather than of the persistence of a more primitive condition.

The fourth chapter deals with the very interesting subject of the Alcheringa, the Australian equivalent of the 'golden age'. The Alcheringa (an Arunta word meaning 'dream times') represents a period of wish fulfilment projected into the past. The Alcheringa ancestors are the progenitors of the race: they were free from the two great Totemistic taboos, inasmuch as they ate the totem and had intercourse with their nearest kin. In its simplest form, the Alcheringa myth corresponds to a stage of Totemism before the contrition following on the slaying of the primeval father. But even here it is possible to distinguish different mental and cultural strata, for the Alcheringa ancestors represent the sons as well as the fathers. In this capacity (as so often in the mythology of more advanced races) the rebellious sons are also the culture bringers, the founders of important social practices and institutions, especially significant in this connection being the initiation rites and Intichiuma or fertility festivals. But ceremonies of this kind, while in one respect gratifying the primitive desires incorporated in the Œdipus Complex, reveal also the beginning of totemic inhibitions, as is shown very clearly in myths relating how the magical practices devised to counteract the effects of totem-eating (e.g. p. 99), the same attitude being revealed also, as Reik has already shown, in the symbolic forms of castration that accompany initiation.

In western cultures it has long been held that the idea of the golden age involves a curious confusion of phylogeny and ontology—that it consists essentially of a projection into the racial past of the pre-natal period of the individual past. Much convincing evidence is here brought forward to show that this is true of Australia also. The incomplete human beings who are a characteristic feature of the Alcheringa traditions clearly represent the embryo (*vide*, e.g. p. 129). On the basis of this indubitable fact, the author goes on to argue that the relatively omnipotent powers of the Alcheringa heroes, as confounded with those of existing powers, represent a projection of embryonic omnipotence in Ferenczi's sense.

The next chapter treats of Conceptual Totemism. Here the author

deals with the disputed question of how far the Australian aborigines are really ignorant of the essential connection between coitus and procreation. He treats this question in connection with the idea of conception through food and marshals evidence that taking food is a substitute for sexual union and for procreation. He concludes that the native theories concerning conception are the result of a compromise between libido and repression; the theories represent an indirect gratification of the Œdipus Complex. According to these theories in their most elaborate form, the ancestral spirit inhabiting an animal body is killed by the father, its meat is given by the father to the mother, who thereby is made pregnant and gives birth to a re-incarnation in human form of the ancestral spirit. In this way the father enjoys, as it were, the privilege of slaying the ancestor (symbolical parricide), but it is this latter who impregnates the mother. The sole sexual right of the ancestor (father *imago*) is thus retained, and, according to the view here propounded, knowledge of the real connection between coitus and impregnation is repressed owing to an attitude of contrition, and an attempt is made to give back to the father that which more primitive hostility would take away from him.[1] The eating of the totem by the woman corresponds, as we should expect, to the infantile theory of conception through food, in this case conception by the father—a point which is dealt with later in the book (pp. 390 ff.). Here emerges one of the most important new conclusions reached in this volume—a conclusion, however, for which clinical evidence has amply prepared us. The eating of the totem is not a mere sequel to the killing of it, nor is it a mere evidence of hostility at the oral level nor a desire for identification with, or incorporation of, the slain. It is also a substitute—a symbolic expression—for coitus (eventually coitus with the mother). The totem animal thus sometimes has a mother as well as a father significance, and it would appear that both great totemic taboos—the avoidance of endogamy and the prohibition against eating the totem—are directed to some extent against the desire for incestuous union with the mother.

The Alcheringa ancestors, when they completed their time on the surface of the earth, descended into the earth, their bodies being turned into certain objects—rocks, trees, etc.—from which new (i.e. re-incarnated) spirits come forth. The place where these objects are found is the totem centre, a symbolical uterus, ' the germ at once of the temple and the altar ' (p. 176). These objects (' Churinga ' among the Arunta), however, may also mean the child (in the womb)—p. 179, and the penis (in the vagina)—p. 182, the bull-roarer used in magic being also a symbol of the penis. The Churinga serves throughout life as a symbol or receptacle of the narcissistic double

[1] It should be noted that from the woman's point of view this corresponds to the double wish to have intercourse both with her own father and her own child.

and this meaning of the Churinga is connected, according to our author, with a remarkable series of equations (pp. 186–88), which, if justified, throw much light upon the function of the concept of a soul at different stages of mental and social development—a theme which amply deserves working out at greater length, and on which perhaps we may hope for further contributions from Dr. Róheim's pen, since he has already prepared the way for a full psycho-analytical treatment of Animism in some of his earlier works, notably *Spiegelzauber* and *Das Selbst*. The depositing of the external soul in the ' Churinga ' or in some corresponding object in order to ensure its safety corresponds of course to a regression to the uterine state (p. 182)—a beginning of the idea of sanctuary (' the first germ of the city of refuge ', p. 176).

Similarly, among the Australians, as with European peoples, the other world—on an island in the sky or elsewhere—to which the souls will go after dark, also represents the mother's womb—a regression to the pre-natal state, sometimes directly recognized as a return to the totem centre. However, this double concept of a ' pre-natal post-mortem world ' tends to split into two, of which one part outlives the other in the development of culture, ' for the form which projects the first (i.e. the pre-natal world) into the future (ghost land) long survives after the disappearance of the original (baby-land), although it conserves traces of its primitive origin ' (p. 213).

The next chapter on ' Intichiuma Ceremonies ' is perhaps the most useful and suggestive of the whole book. The fertility ceremonies directed to a multiplication of the totem animal are substitutes for inhibited coitus, and both myth and ritual contain striking evidence that in their origin these practices were directed to the multiplication of human beings rather than of animals. This origin is also revealed by a study of the symbolism employed in the ceremonies, where for instance the acts of quivering and rubbing stand for coitus and masturbation respectively, and where white down and blood represent semen. The ceremonies are, too, in some cases avowedly repetitions of rites originally performed by the mythical ancestors who created spirit children, while the occasional existence of ' anthropic ' totems (such as ' laughing boy ', ' full-grown man ', ' baby ', or ' sexual desire ') and the corresponding performance of totemic rites to provide a plentiful supply of children may be regarded as an earlier phase in the history of these ceremonies. Biologically Intichiuma may be regarded as a survival of the rutting season, which the author supposes to have existed among the progenitors of the present race—a season characterized by ' an enhanced biological unity between all nature at the common breeding season '. But this rutting season is also the season of battle—the season at which the primeval parricides occurred, and signs of this have been left in the Intichiuma rites, notably in the killing and eating of the totem, which often forms an integral part of the ceremony. ' Before they can successfully multiply the animal, that is commit totemic incest, they must

kill and devour the father '. This rite, however, exhibits through its various forms unmistakable signs of the interplay of primitive desire and of repression, a matter which is studied in considerable detail. A similar ambivalence affecting the relations between the old and the young is manifested also in the important rite of blood-letting, which represents both ejaculation (the original crime) and castration (atonement for this crime), and which also indicates the presence of strong homoerotic tendencies. As in initiation rites, there is here a marked repression of the primitive element. From being murdered as an obstacle to the son's access to the mother, the father is now exalted as the sole progenitor, who is able to produce and give birth to children without female aid (though even here, however, there are to be found elements corresponding to a return of the repressed, inasmuch as the son copulates with the same symbolic female organ—the Ertnatulunga cave—as the father). To the same reconciliation and homoerotic motives is due the universal tendency to exclude women from participation in ceremonies of this kind.

This exclusion of heterosexual libido in the service of reconciliation between fathers and sons is far from being the only element in common between Intichiuma and Initiation ceremonies. A not inconsiderable part of the present chapter is devoted to the working out of a detailed parallelism between the two institutions. Thus the bull-roarer as magical instrument of procreation is common to both ; the negative food taboos and subsequent ' liberation ' from (the whole or a part) of the taboo in Intichiuma corresponds to the sexual taboos and the release from these that is characteristic of Initiation, a correspondence that represents another aspect of the equation eating = coitus ; while in both cases the freedom from the taboo has to be purchased by symbolic castration. Indeed it is clear that, granted the correctness of the author's fundamental thesis concerning Intichiuma (that the process of animal multiplication represents a displaced form of human sexual intercourse), the basic ideas and tendencies of the two institutions overlap to such a large extent that the existence of such a detailed correspondence is only what might be expected *a priori*. The chief difference in the psychical attitudes underlying the two institutions is, if we have understood correctly, one concerning the relative emphasis laid respectively upon the accentuation of sexual desire in general (corresponding biologically to the rutting season) and upon the more specific sexual situation corresponding to the Œdipus Complex. In a word, in Intichiuma we see a survival of rutting coloured by the Œdipus Complex, while in Initiation we see the Œdipus Complex as coloured by the survival of rutting (p. 279).

As regards the detailed history of Intichiuma, Dr. Róheim distinguishes five stages (pp. 303–5). ' The germ of the ritual ' as found in the first phase, ' is represented by the survival of those movements of the rutting season that served to introduce and promote sexual activity (fore-

pleasure) '. In the second phase ' Intichiuma is still identical with rut ; but the conflict between the Old and Young Males, the Father and Son, for the women of the Horde is already beginning to leave its trace on the ceremonies '. In the third phase the victory of the brothers over the father, together with a more advanced material culture, have led to the cessation of a special rutting season, the libido being now ' ever present '. Repression, however, takes the place of the biologically conditioned anœstrum and is directed primarily against the Œdipus Complex (though it is held that the tendency to exogamy is phylogenetically prior to the Œdipus Complex). Owing to the reaction-formation thus brought about, we get the reconciliatory and homoerotic characteristics above noticed, though elements implying a ' return of the repressed ' are not absent. So far, Intichiuma has related to human propagation, but in the fourth phase ' the repression of the Œdipus Complex leads to a projection of the rite into the animal world, and the ceremonies of the baby-totem type ' (characteristic of the previous stage before the projection) ' begin to disappear. The magical multiplication of the totem animal forms part of the instruction given to novices in the initiation rite as a sort of substitute for their incestuous desires which they are henceforth held to relinquish '. Indeed this stage of Intichiuma evolves to some extent coincidently with the new institutions of initiation, and the two-phratry system, and the nature of the whole rite as a compromise formation manifests itself in the various taboos, partial taboos, and liberations already mentioned. In the fifth phase ' the original totemic moieties split into the present totemic clans, and these unite to form what we call a tribe. Every totem clan has its own Intichiuma and legend to correspond ; the animal is liberated for the members of other totems '.

It will be noticed that, in dealing with the third of these stages, Dr. Róheim has introduced what may fairly be called a biological theory of repression, namely that it is a mechanism evolved to deal with the situation arising out of the loss of a distinct sexual periodicity. He considers that the disappearance of the primeval horde is intimately connected with an advance of culture dependent on co-operation, and therefore also with this loss of periodicity. Repression in its turn is connected with the forms and accompaniments of sexual desire associated with the primeval horde that had just come to an end. ' It bears the marks of the period of its origin imprinted on it to our own days. It is primarily directed against the most archaic form of sexuality that we call in its unconscious and mythical survivals the Œdipus Complex ' (p. 281). He goes on to suggest that the Reality Principle itself may be rooted in the Anœstrum, the Pleasure Principle in the Œstrum period of animal life. Another interesting biological theory of a psychological process concerns ' Displacement Upwards ', which is brought into connection with the appearance of crests, manes, and other secondary characters appearing in the rutting season. The psychical process is, he suggests, in the nature of ' a reduced

repetition of the biological process manifested in these secondary sex characters ' (p. 243). [1]

The last chapter takes us into the field of ethnology, and in so doing goes more deeply into certain problems adumbrated in Chapter III. Its main thesis is stated as follows: ' Australia has been peopled by two consecutive immigrations; the first wave is represented by the tribes of the south and south-east, with their negative form of totemism; the second by those of the north, centre and west, with their positive form. From a psychological point of view, the chief difference between these two waves lies in the relative position of the libido to repression, the first wave being characterized by a successful repression of the Œdipus Complex, the second by the return of repressed elements '.

The immigrants came into Australia from the north, and an endeavour is made to trace their course from Torres Straits, and ultimately from Indonesia. In this part of his book Dr. Róheim adopts in the main the views advanced by Mr. W. J. Perry and endeavours to bring further support to these views by a comparison of myth and ritual in Australia, Torres Straits, New Guinea, etc.: an interesting and somewhat piquant development, for the modern ' diffusionist ' school to which Mr. Perry belongs has shown itself extremely hostile to the anthropological applications of psycho-analysis and appears to consider that its own discoveries are incompatible with, and indeed perhaps fatal to, the psycho-analytical interpretations. As a result of this process of comparison it appears not only that there exist many striking parallels between Central Australian beliefs and practices and those of the northern islanders, but that the culture of these latter possesses on the whole a freer and less inhibited form than that of Central Australia (just as the ' positive ' totemism of Central Australia is in its turn less inhibited than the ' negative ' totemism of the south and east). As the relative cultural position of the islanders and of the Australians would lead us to expect, this does not mean that the less inhibited is the more primitive condition. On the contrary, the lesser inhibition is due (as in Central Australia) to ' a return of the repressed ', though of course—here as elsewhere—not exactly in its original form. In general however, ' what is quite conscious in the north is merely symbolic in the south ' (p. 323). Apart from its *a priori* likelihood, this position is established beyond all reasonable doubt by Dr. Róheim's detailed compari-

[1] The head-dress worn in certain Intichiuma ceremonies is a phallic symbol, and is knocked off as a symbol of castration. A similar unconscious intention doubtless underlies the knocking off of hats or caps as often practised as a joke by boys. The reviewer remembers the pride with which a policeman's helmet, obtained in this way, was exhibited by the undergraduate who had succeeded in making off with it. The helmet constituted the central ornament of the student's room, and was treated in much the same way as horns or antlers (also phallic symbols) are used for purposes of decoration by the hunter.

sons. Thus in Central Australia analysis was necessary to show that the actions which lead to human and animal multiplication (in the Intichiuma myths) were symbolic equivalents of coitus ; in Torres Straits we find the open statement in corresponding myths that it was coitus which made the food plants grow (p. 323). ' Again in Australia, the ancestor who had been committing symbolic incest is rewarded by subsequent apotheosis (as a reaction-formation following his murder), in Indonesia he is stoned ' (p. 359). Similarly as regards the two waves of culture within Australia itself, tooth evulsion as practised in the south and east is a much more remote symbol of castration than are subincision and circumcision as practised in the centre and north (p. 418). These are only three examples from what constitutes a most interesting and valuable piece of comparative sociological research. It seems probable that much enlightenment with regard to the relative cultures of different peoples, including highly civilized populations, might be gained by further comparisons along these lines.

In the course of this chapter there are a number of important discussions of matters incidental to the main theme. Reference may be made in particular to the long and detailed discussion of stone culture (pp. 335 et seq.). Róheim advances the hypothesis that the primeval murder of the ' Jealous Sire ' was effected by his sons stoning him to death. A heap of stones thus originally marked the grave of the father, and the subsequent remorse of the sons led to identification of the gravestone with the murdered man or the erection of it in his honour ; events which exercised in turn a widespread influence upon stonework in general. All this forms a fascinating thesis worked out with so much subtlety and detail as to afford a most valuable psycho-sociological study in itself. Further contributions of this chapter that are perhaps deserving of special mention are the demonstration of the connection between Mourning and Initiation rites (pp. 395 et seq.) and the short but pregnant and suggestive treatment of the reasons for the greater capacity for progress shown by societies with male descent (pp. 425 et seq.).

Such in rough outline are the contents of this striking book. As already indicated, no summary, however detailed, can give a correct impression of its wealth of detail—a matter which increases the difficulty of the reader attempting to obtain a general impression, but which will render it all the more valuable for purposes of reference and research. A great deal of the complexity which undoubtedly characterizes the treatment is due to the necessity which confronts the psycho-analytical writer of taking full account of an almost omnipresent feature of the human mind which affects all beliefs and institutions—i.e. the mechanism of Over-determination. In both ontogenesis and phylogenesis we have to trace the roots of any mental or social product in different mental strata and determine the varying (and often contrary) significance of this product at

different levels; a single and relatively simple interpretation, however satisfying it may appear, is seldom adequate. This fact, long ago emphasized by Freud with regard to dream interpretation, has been taken thoroughly to heart by Dr. Róheim in his anthropological applications of psycho-analysis; so much so that he is seldom content until he has unearthed a multiplicity of motivations for almost every item of totemic belief and practice. This adds greatly to the difficulty of fully understanding and evaluating the psychological foundations of the ethnographic data, and to the student who is not yet versed in psycho-analysis the very high degree of condensation so often revealed must surely prove utterly bewildering—reducing him perhaps at the end to scepticism with regard to all psycho-analytic interpretation, since it may well seem that so many and so varied meanings attached to any single feature cannot all be true, and are perhaps, every one of them, beside the mark. This is unfortunately an issue which cannot be evaded. The existence and vast significance of Overdetermination is a matter which for all trained psycho-analysts is beyond dispute.

The determination of the relative importance of the different strata in the interpretation of any given mental product (individual or collective) is however very largely a matter for future research. It cannot be said that Dr. Róheim has contributed much to our knowledge on this point. At the same time, by his industry in unearthing superimposed motivations. he has rendered the problem more acute, and to the present reviewer at any rate, one of the most unsatisfying features of the present book lies in its failure to make any adequate attempt to estimate the relative function and importance of the different interpretations which it reveals to us in such astonishing abundance.

We may perhaps be permitted to emphasize the real gravity, and at the same time the difficulty, of the problems in question by reference to an example. In dealing with the problem of how dismemberment or tearing to pieces (= castration) can become in Intichiuma a magical means of multiplying animals, Dr. Róheim (if I understand him rightly) gives us in all not less than seven interpretations which may be summarized very briefly as follows:

1. As often in dealing with the Unconscious, the time relations must be reversed. We then have, first, the multiplication of animals as a sublimated incest, and subsequently the castration as the usual form of talion punishment for incest (p. 290).

2. Without reference to such time reversal, we may say that 'before man (i.e. the sons) can proceed to procreation, . . . the Jealous Sire . . . must be conquered and castrated or torn to pieces' (p. 290).

3. By tearing the father into pieces and eating him the sons identify themselves with the father, who thus becomes multiplied by being incorporated in each of his sons (p. 293).

4. By tearing something into bits we really multiply it in a certain sense, we get more units. This fact is utilized by the Unconscious for the purpose of a magical wish fulfilment to the effect that each piece of the slaughtered animal should become itself a whole animal, i.e. ' that the act of consuming the animal and thus lessening the food supply should, on the contrary, have the effect of augmenting it ' (p. 299).

5. ' The principle of multiplication by division is applicable to the various components of the auto-erotic libido. The original being who is divided into pieces is the man himself; he, however, projects the infantile components of his narcissistic libido into his excreta and secreta (symbolized by stones in the case here in question), whereby these gain a new personality forming, nevertheless, a fragment of the original one ' (p. 302).

6. ' The principle of multiplication by division applies equally well to the genital process; at procreation the semen is divided from man to give life to a new being and at birth the child is divided from woman ' (p. 303).

7. ' Last but not least we know that the lowest organisms multiply by division, a process that has only been supplanted by sexual multiplication in the course of evolution. Ultimately, then, the magical rites of the Intichiuma represent a regression to the very Sources of Life ' (p. 303).

Granted that all these diverse interpretations are true of various times, places or mental levels, it seems clear that we are very hampered in the use of all this knowledge until we know a good deal about the relative applicability and importance of these interpretations in any given case, and indeed about the general relations of the different possible meanings to one another. The reader will cordially agree with Dr. Róheim that ' in totemic matters a difficulty solved means a fresh difficulty raised.' The problems opened up for future research by multiple interpretations of this sort are alluring in the prospect they hold out of an increased insight into the delicate processes of interaction between different mental levels, but are at the same time truly alarming in their apparent magnitude and intricacy.

It would seem, however, that a start might profitably be made by distinguishing between certain main classes of meaning or symbol. Thus in Nos. 1, 2, and 3 of the above example we have to do with ' symbols ' in the true psycho-analytic sense, ' cryptophors ', as the present writer has suggested they might profitably be called, [1] No. 1 being in the nature of a reaction-formation to No. 2 (as is made amply apparent by Dr. Róheim himself in the course of his general exposition). No. 4 is thoroughly characteristic of the Unconscious in its magical omnipotence and reversal of reality, but differs from the first three in being more intimately conditioned by present reality and less determined by unconscious complexes of an archaic character. The last three differ markedly from the first four

[1] Dr. Eder in his preface seems to indicate his approval of this suggestion.

in that they do not appear to aim directly at wish-fulfilment. No. 5 is a somewhat complicated case of ' functional ' symbolism, i.e. symbolism expressive of psychical processes, while No. 6 and No. 7 are somewhat analogous cases of symbolism expressive of physiological and biological processes respectively. No. 7 raises special difficulties of its own. Does it imply that the Australian aborigines have any knowledge, conscious or unconscious, of the lowest organisms ? If so, how is this knowledge obtained ? Or must we regard it as something in the nature of a psychological *tour de force* on the part of the recapitulatory process ? All three of these last interpretations, however, raise one important question in common, namely, what is the motivation underlying such symbolism, what purpose does it fulfil ? The problem is here fundamentally the same as in the individual mind. It is a problem which we are probably far from having completely solved, though the work of Ernest Jones on ' The Theory of Symbolism '[1] would seem to have brought us appreciably nearer its solution. In the course of his treatment Dr. Róheim makes fairly free use of a number of interpretations of this kind, interpretations involving symbols of ontogenetic development (e.g. the Inapertwa myth, which, as mentioned above, is taken to indicate that the Alcheringa heroes are equated to embryos, p. 126), phylogenetic development of all stages from near human to remote pre-human ancestry (e.g. pp. 133, 312, 350, 356, 366), and, above all, functional symbolism (e.g. pp. 140, 149, 177, 181, 202, 212). Nowhere, however, does he attempt anything approaching a systematic exposition of his views as to the relation between these kinds of symbols and those expressive of fulfilment of unconscious desires, though he does indicate—e.g. p. 393—that ' behind functional[2] explanations we [should] look for a genetic or historical explanation '. May we perhaps hope that in some future work from Dr. Róheim's pen he may seriously undertake the problem of this relationship from the anthropological and psycho-analytical points of view—a problem with which, owing to the great fund of knowledge at his disposition, he should be specially qualified to deal ?

When Dr. Róheim has given us so much in the way both of fact and of interpretation it may seem ungrateful thus to draw attention to what is still undone. The above remarks, however, are not intended in any spirit of complaint, but aim chiefly at pointing out what is in any case a most important field for further research, the need for which has now been greatly accentuated by Dr. Róheim's own assiduous investigations.

Another matter which we regret has not been accorded fuller and more systematic treatment in this book concerns what is perhaps the most fundamental fact of totemism, i.e. the projection of ideas originally concerning human beings on to animals or other non-human objects. It is

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[1] *Papers on Psycho-Analysis*, 1923, pp. 129 ff.

[2] The word ' functional ' is here used in a wider sense than that of Silberer.

fairly clear on the whole, however, that Dr. Róheim considers the principal factor in this process of projection to consist in a fundamental biological unity between all living things, a unity which is, he thinks, enhanced at the rutting season. There is, however, but little consideration here of the actual psychological mechanisms through which this unity manifests itself in man, though fortunately this lack is to some extent made good by the illuminating article on ' Primitive Man and Environment ' which Dr. Róheim has published in this JOURNAL (Vol. II, p. 157). Some additional information bearing on this point is however to be found towards the end of the present book—in a passage in which the author resuscitates with some psychological additions the old view as to the importance of the animal visiting the grave of the deceased, a passage which is perhaps sufficiently instructive to be quoted in full.

' If we picture to ourselves the psychical situation of the victorious brother-clan assembled round the cairn, which they had piled up in triumph and yet trembling from what might follow after their victory, we may very well understand the exact moment in which the projection of the Father-Imago into an animal took place.

' The conscience-stricken murderer sees the image of the man he has killed in every tree of the forest, he hears his voice in the rustling boughs and, at least so popular belief will have it, he is compelled by irresistible force within him always to return to the scene of his crime. These parricides at the dawn of human evolution must have been subject to these emotions in an enhanced measure, for was not their victim their beloved father, the very source of their being ? Their attitude towards him was ambivalent, a compound of hatred and love ; after hate had obtained free play in the bloody deed, it was but natural that love should get the upper hand in the mourning period. They now felt a lively desire to resuscitate their powerful leader as a help in the struggle for life against other species, although this desire was not unmingled with a very natural dread of what he would do to his murderers if he came back again. At any rate they were expecting his return, and so it was very natural that they should identify the wild beasts of the jungle or desert who came to haunt his grave with his now thrice sacred person ' (p. 384).

A little later on he supplements this by adding that the animal that frequents the grave would be suspected of devouring or attempting to devour the dead and thus ' become imbued with the essence of the old man, the murdered father ', at the same time identifying himself with the sons through partaking in this same cannibal communion (p. 389). Still another source of totemism is found in a certain form of phylogenetic symbolism, and is both more novel and—as it probably will seem to many—more doubtful. The human embryo in its process of development recapitulates the (pre-human) history of the race and totemism may be regarded as the psychical ' engram ' or rudiment of this process of recapitulation.

Here again we may perhaps be allowed to quote the relevant passage, more especially as it has a bearing on the author's whole attitude to the question of phylogenetic symbolism.

'It is, of course, easy to see that there can be no question of a direct survival of phylogenesis in myth, but as the embryo in its intra-uterine life gives a brief recapitulation of the development of the whole animal world we might find here the most primitive psychological form of memory, the lowest strata of the Unconscious in their mythical projection. Whether the salt water that figures in these myths may be in any way connected with the fact that the basin of Central Australia was once covered with the sea is disputable; at any rate, this salt water is a survival of the amniotic fluid and the opening of the earth at Lake Perigundi—a mythical version of the opening of the mother's womb. The intra-uterine water itself is a recapitulation of the age when animal life evolved in salt water; and similarly the various animal shapes of the inapertwa may well be interpreted as mythical reflections of the various phases of animal life through which the embryo passes. We have already found one pre-psychic root of totemism into which unconscious psychical contents are projected in the physical unity of man with his environment; here we find the second; from this point of view we define totemism as the psychical 'engram' or rudiment of the various stages in the intra-uterine evolution of the embryo' (p. 133).

Fascinating and suggestive as such an explanation may be, we must agree that for the moment at any rate, and in the present state of our knowledge, it undoubtedly raises far more problems than it solves.

As indicated at the beginning of our review, the faults of the book relate to manner rather than to matter. In general it is perhaps a pardonable and not altogether inapt exaggeration to say that several of the chapters resemble nothing so much as a prolonged series of more or less free associations to the general theme of the chapter heading—free associations however of a most erudite and brilliant mind. The author appears to be sometimes completely carried away by the irresistible flood of his ideas and cannot stop to order them and think whither they are leading him, much less to consider the state of mind of the ordinary reader, who, not possessing Dr. Róheim's vast stores of information, nor his depth of insight, nor his nimbleness of thought, will only too often lose all sense of the main direction of the argument and be utterly bewildered by the multiplicity of facts and clues which are provided in such generous, not to say embarrassing, abundance. If the book as it stands had been regarded as so many rough notes to be sifted and arranged by further patient labour into an ordered exposition, it might have been built up into a most imposing classic. In its present form it is only a vast treasure house of information which will probably be used far more for reference than for reading.

This general factor of lack of order is so all-pervasive that it is not so

easy to indicate in detail the exact nature of the deficiencies in presentation or to suggest how they might be remedied. Apart from detailed revision with a view to tightening up the general argument and indicating more precisely the presence, nature and functions of digressions where they occur, the dividing up of the (sometimes extremely long) chapters into a number of sections suggests itself as an obvious method of facilitating the reader's task (although the excellent system of inset substitutes—at present the only guide to the course of the exposition within the chapter—should by all means be retained and possibly expanded). The actual text could often be rendered appreciably easier to follow by the addition of a single word or short sentence indicating, for example, where the argument is passing from particular to general, from statement of fact to statement of theory, from observations or arguments of one of the quoted authorities to the author's own comments and so on. Finally, the text requires serious revision here and there from the purely literary point of view. Thus on page 390 a whole theme running into three paragraphs (dealing with the eating of the totem by women) is introduced after a semi-colon in the middle of the last sentence of the previous paragraph ; while loose, unnecessarily complex, or ambiguous passages are not infrequent. Perhaps we may be allowed to quote just one example :

' For instance, in the Kariera, Namal and Injibandi tribes, a hunter, when he has killed a kangaroo or an emu, takes a portion of the fat of the dead animal, placing the fat aside. This turns into a spirit baby which is directed by him to enter a certain woman who thus becomes pregnant. This animal or plant is not the totem of the child, in a very large number of cases that animal is either the kangaroo or the emu ' (p. 47).

In this passage first of all what is the relation of the ' portion of the fat ' to ' the fat ' ? In the second place, what is ' this animal ' ? At first one would suppose it to refer to the kangaroo or emu which have just been mentioned. But that is scarcely possible, for ' this animal ' is not the totem, whereas the totem (if ' that animal ' refers to the totem : a very clumsy expression, coming just after ' this animal ') *is* very often the kangaroo or emu. It is very puzzling !

If we have laid perhaps somewhat too great stress upon the faults of presentation that characterize this book, it is only because these faults stand out in such vivid contrast to the great importance of the subject-matter. It is only fair to add in conclusion that even from the point of view of presentation, the book contains some excellent features, notably a good index and no less than thirteen excellent maps (which would, however, be even more useful than they are, if more frequent reference were made to them in the text). In spite of its faults, this is undoubtedly a work of very high value. Its appearance constitutes a most significant advance in the application of psycho-analysis to anthropology.

J. C. F.

Die Psychischen Störungen der Männlichen Potenz, ihre Tragweite und ihre Behandlung. Von Dr. Maxim. Steiner, mit einem Vorwort von Professor Sigm. Freud (Third revised edition, 1926. Deuticke, Leipzig und Wien. 8vo, pp. xii+59. Price Gm. 2.40, Austrian Schilling 3.60.)

The author is a specialist in sexual disorders, not a psycho-analyst, but he realised that the approach usual to his branch of the profession would not lead to a full understanding of the causes and treatment of impotence without a study of the neuroses generally, and that these in turn could not be made intelligible without the help of psycho-analytical theory. His brochure is not directed to psycho-analysts so much as to his fellow-specialists, and is therefore a sketch of the psycho-analytic theory and method rather than a new contribution to our subject. He divides his cases into three categories: (1) Those in whom *constitutional* factors exercise a predominant influence, in whom there is an inferiority from birth, e.g. cases showing congenital syphilis, rickets, a tendency to adenoids and prolonged nocturnal eneuresis. These, he says, show a demonstrable sexual precocity, they are the childhood's neurasthenics, they never are children and never will be men, they show feminine traits and a prolonged puberty. In these the prognosis is unfavourable. (2) Cases in which the ætiological factor can be traced to the period of earliest childhood. In these the hereditary element is absent or slight, they have *fixations at pre-genital stages* of development. The prognosis with psycho-analytic treatment is usually favourable. (3) Lastly, cases in which the causative factors are to be traced to a later period in life, these are also *fixations on the parents* [but at the phallic stage presumably], and in these the prognosis with any form of psycho-therapy is favourable, but most of all by psycho-analysis.

These sub-divisions accord with those usually given by psycho-analysts. Let us now turn from the points in which readers of this JOURNAL will agree with the author to those in which differences of opinion are likely to arise. What touchstone shall we employ to test this unknown metal—his handling of the transference in the analytical situation? If there really is a psychical disturbance of some function, according to our belief this will manifest itself (in the transference neuroses, at any rate) in the transference to the physician, and if that disturbance of function is due to a disturbance of the patient's capacity to effect lasting and deep allo-erotic relationships to persons of the opposite sex we should expect a resolution of the latter difficulties to be a necessary part of the treatment of the organic disfunction. We are told very little of the details of his technique, but he says (p. 34), 'We may rightly assume that the organic treatment will under all circumstances induce an improvement in the condition of the psychically impotent'. This throws us back on the age-long question of the combination of physical and psychical treatment. To answer it we have to ask ourselves whether we are trying to treat a disease or a symptom; if the former we

must make our physical treatment adequate and scientific, if the latter we must beware the dangers of muddling the handling of the case. He says (p. 38), ' The successes from the treatment with Spermin, Testogan, Testosan, Neosex, and many other similar preparations in many cases of neurasthenic conditions are certainly not to be doubted '. They certainly will be doubted ; no evidence has yet been produced that these proprietary articles avail anything at all *unaided by suggestion*. This is where the analysis of the transference comes in as a scientific procedure eliminating the gravest error of the organotherapist's experiment. He should bring evidence to show that the cases do well with these pills apart from transference phenomena ; there is no word of this precaution, and no bibliographical reference to it in a brochure otherwise amply documented.

Since we have found him at fault in neglecting the use of the analysis of the transference as a check to pharmacological experiment, we may turn to another use of it as a procedure—the most delicate yet evolved for this purpose—for detecting the distribution of the libido : transference or narcissistic neurosis, hysteria or obsessional, or paranoid or melancholic—they all have their characteristic distributions. He says (p. 38), ' If we are in doubt in a case of psychical impotence as to which category to place it in we concentrate first of all on the more prominent organic disturbance . . .'. If it is quickly cured, it is in the third, if success only comes after the help of the psycho-analytic method, it belongs to the second category ; if there is no success or only partial success after these treatments, it belongs to the first category. It sounds so reasonable, and to cavil at it sounds so niggling, but whatever may be thought of the purists in the psycho-analytical movement they have the evidence on their side. The use of organic treatment (cold sounds passed into the prostatic urethra, or thick dilators ' and other hydrotherapeutic measures ' [1]) disturbs the valuable transference phenomena which appear early in the interviews—valuable both from a diagnostic and from a therapeutic point of view ; if these phenomena are blurred by the physical treatment the physician of course cannot employ his analytic technique so finely as a diagnostic instrument. It is as though a cardiologist advised the student in a case of arhythmia first to exhibit digitalis or quinidine, and then if those measures failed to differentiate the sinus arhythmias from fibrillation to advise the use of the stethoscope, electrocendiograph, etc. However, other branches of medicine have nothing comparable with the psycho-analytical situation ; it is an instrument for the most exact observation of emotional phenomena we yet possess, and it is a therapeutic instrument as well. Neglect of the qualities of the former must lead in the course of time to neglect of the potentialities of the latter.

Having said so much in depreciation, the last word will be praise. The

[1] Also an electrode in the rectum and the other on the mons veneris (p 35).

author has given a summary of psycho-analytic theories in briefest fashion ; he has included castration-anxiety and feelings of guilt, has outlined the development of the libido, stressed the importance of the fixations and of repressed homosexuality, and given pages to the incestuous attachments to the mother as the predominating cause of impotence. ' Avoidance of incest and castration-anxiety are consequently the essential motives of impotence ' (p. 19). It is a book which should be read by students and practitioners as a corrective to so much of the confusion about impotence which is to be found in the genito-urinary text-books.

John Rickman.

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The New Psychology. How it Aids and Interests. By E. Boyd Barrett, S.J., M.A., Ph.D. (Harding and More, London, 1925. Pp. 358. Price 12*s*. 6*d*.).

The priesthood has been comprehensibly loth to relinquish its hold over the various branches of science, medicine in particular, of which they were once the guardian, and it has long been evident that the last stand, and perhaps the most stubborn, would be made in the domain of psychology and psychological medicine. The author of this book, a learned Jesuit, defends this desperate position. He ranges over the whole field of clinica psychology and lays down the law on any vexed question with the most approved *ex cathedra* manner. He gravely debates the rival claims of neurasthenia being regarded as an actual neurosis or as a psychoneurosis and tells us which it really is ; he judicially estimates the value of the d'Arsonval high-frequency treatment, and instructs us about when and how the investigation of dreams should be used for therapeutic purposes. The certainty with which such matters can be decided and the air of high authority that pervades the whole book are fully intelligible when we remember that the author is in possession of an infallible *vade mecum* to truth : he has only to ask himself which solution of a problem is most in harmony with the teachings of the Catholic Fathers and all doubt is removed. Where it is convenient he quotes medical reasons in support of his conclusions ; where it is not, he invokes the thunders of the Church and inveighs loudly against the immorality of those who may differ from him. In short, his path is an easy one.

We are bound, however, to call attention to one flaw in this apparently unassailable position. Authorities who make such lofty pretensions in the direction of scientific, and especially of ethical, omniscience also assume thereby certain responsibilities. If, for instance, it becomes clear that their scientific, and especially their ethical, standards are visibly lower than those they profess, then they must be prepared to find that the plain man will no longer accept their pretensions without further credentials and will treat them as ordinary mortals, susceptible to human failings.

Let us take a case in point. The history of the religious order to which the author belongs shows that there is one ethical virtue deficiency in which is beyond all others incompatible with its tenets : we refer, of course, to truth. It is, therefore, to be expected that before vigorously condemning the work of a scientific writer the author would be at special pains to ascertain the facts about this work and to present it truthfully. We regret to observe that, on the contrary, the author does not emerge very successfully from this simple test. From a very large number of mis-statements and easily avoidable misconceptions we may select the following examples :

' This unfortunate state of things is largely due to the gross materialism of Freud himself, and of such of his supporters in America as A. A. Brill. . . . For them there is no morality in the true sense; free self-expression, whatever form it may take, provided it be biological, is for them *good*. They have almost succeeded in tainting by their narrow and stupid theories the very useful instrument with which they worked, and which they helped to perfect. And so it is that the difficult task is laid on the shoulders of Christian psychologists of picking this good and useful instrument or method, psycho-analysis, out of a foul mire ' (p. 170). Without commenting on the Christian charity displayed in this passage and in other similar ones, we would comment on the obvious nonsense it contains. If it were true, then Freud would regard murder, theft and other crimes, which are presumably ' biological ' enough, as good.

For Freud's ' one-sided and narrow views regarding the primitive instincts ' the author has little sympathy and he makes the following astonishing comment on them : ' Fortunately, most reputable psycho-analysts have rejected them with contempt, and apply the method from the orthodox standpoint ' (p. 173). We should indeed be curious to know the name of a single reputable psycho-analyst of whom this is true, but the author does not vouchsafe us the information. Elsewhere in the book, it is true, he is extremely catholic in his conception of what constitutes a psycho-analyst : Drs. Bousfield, Crichton Miller, and Rivers are among many he designates by that name ; we do not think that any of these would so term themselves, and it is certain that no one else would do so.

Of the many technical errors that abound in the book the following may be mentioned. Traumatic hysteria is not hysteria due to mental traumata (p. 167), but hysteria following a physical accident, such as a railway collision. The cathartic method is not ' still a central feature of psycho-analysis ' (p. 168), but ceased to be so more than a quarter of a century ago ; indeed, it would be more accurate to say that it never was, for it was replaced by psycho-analysis. The author is unable to distinguish between free association, which might well be called ' a central feature ' of psycho-analysis, and the word association test, for he gives the following definition of the former : ' Free association in its simplest form consists in reading out, one by one, at due intervals, words on the hearing of which the patient

must frankly tell what thoughts or images they suggest to his mind. The reaction time should be noted ' (pp. 175, 176). Nor does he know that sublimation is essentially an unconscious process, independent of the will : ' How can, for instance, the strong sex-proclivities of men and women be turned in an orderly way into other useful channels, such as humanitarian work, or literary and artistic work, unless the will be strengthened by God's grace to control the sublimation ? ' (p. 182). To regard the terms ' sub-conscious ' and ' unconscious ' as synonyms is to overlook the greatest discovery ever made by Freud, while to say that the distinctions between them are ' seldom observed ' (p. 31) evinces a very superficial acquaintance with the literature on the subject. To assert that psycho-analysis can be beneficially combined with hypnotism (p. 174) is equally untrue, and to say that as a consequence of psycho-analysis being accepted hypnotism has come more and more into vogue (p. 274) is extremely questionable. To use the word ' censor ' instead of ' censorship ' and then to criticize the conception on this basis is, of course, a familiar proceeding.

If psycho-analysis began with lectures delivered by Freud in 1895 (p. 167) the fact is unknown to the present reviewer, for there is no record of any such lectures. But the author's animus against Freud, which, incidentally, reveals itself by his miscalling him Sigismund throughout the book, is so intense that any statements where Freud is concerned are apt to contain distortions. ' Impious ', ' absurd ', ' cynical ', ' wild ', ' stupid ', and ' gross ' are but a few of the adjectives with which he relieves his emotions, and his wrath reaches its climax in the final chapter entitled ' False Theories of Religion '. Here he altogether refrains from giving chapter and verse for his ideas, and so constructs an entirely imaginary picture of what he supposes Freud's views on religion to be ; needless to say, it is a complete travesty.

E. J.

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Migraine and Other Common Neuroses. By F. G. Crookshank, M.D., F.R.C.P. (Psyche Miniatures Medical Series. Kegan Paul, London, 1925. Pp. 101. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*)

This little book is a reprint of two lectures delivered by the author. The most that can be said of it is that an attempt has been made to bring out the psychological factors in the common neuroses with especial reference to migraine.

In this laudable endeavour the author has unfortunately limited himself to explain and treat the neuroses from only one point of view, namely, that of organ inferiority, of which doctrine Adler is the exponent. To be able to view the neuroses with only this very limited range of vision in itself suggests an ' organ inferiority ' which certainly needs remedying. The neuroses are too complicated in their structure to allow of such a simple

explanation and solution, and there is no doubt the author will discover this if his vision extends.

There is just one other point to which reference might be made, and that is the question of transference, which the author seems to have failed to understand. It would be worth while for Dr. Crookshank to investigate carefully those cases in which he has obtained satisfactory results, and he would then find that transference was the potent factor in bringing about an amelioration of symptoms, a factor of far greater importance than the mere explanations he had given the patients. The author (p. 58) says that transference is better avoided, but he does not say how this to him desired state of affairs is to be brought about; information on this important point would have been most welcome.

It is to be hoped, however, that the author will pursue his enquiries and become more conversant with the psycho-analytic teachings, which hold out a much better and more scientific explanation and treatment of the neuroses.

D. B.

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Jahrbuch der Charakterologie. Herausgegeben von Emil Utitz, Band I, 1924. (Pan Verlag Rolf Heise, Charlottenburg. Pp. 375. Price Brosch. 13 M, Ganzl. 15 M.)

This volume contains thirteen papers, all except two of which are frankly academic in form and substance. Of the two papers, one entitled ' Charakter als Ausdruck,' by Rudolf Allers (Wien), purports to be a critical examination of the contributions to characterology by psycho-analysis and by individual psychology (Adler) respectively. A somewhat garbled account is given of psycho-analytical theory together with an inadequate review of analytical characterology. The author concludes that psycho-analysis is in a transitional phase and that even now the theories of individual psychology are more progressive. Adler's views are in his opinion more helpful in the study of character, but neither can contribute to real understanding of the individual however much they may to genetic understanding of his behaviour. The lodestar of characterology is to be found in the metaphysics of the individual.

The second paper is entitled ' Der triebhafte und der bewusste Mensch ', and is by K. Schneider (Köln). His formulation of a grouping of ' impulsive ' character types as contrasted with individuals exercising conscious control of impulse seems at first to promise some acquaintance with the dynamics of characterology. The promise is, however, soon broken. It is clear that he adopts the popular view of conscious control, has no conception of systems in the psyche, has never, it seems, heard of regression, and, almost certainly, never of repression. It is a helpless sort of contribution, but is mercifully short.

Edward Glover.

Psychology and History. By Harry Elmer Barnes, Professor of Sociology, Smith College. (The Century Co., New York, 1925. Pp. 195. Price $1.50.)

This book represents a reprint of part of a larger work entitled *New History and the Social Studies*, and in its present form aims at providing the reader with ' a serviceable summary of the major developments in social psychology and psychiatry which are of significance for the historian ', an aim which on the whole is satisfactorily attained.

The book is divided into two main sections, the first giving a historical (and to some extent also a critical) account of the chief works on sociology, social psychology, social anthropology, etc., taken writer by writer or school by school. The second part deals with ' The Psychological Interpretation of History ', and is devoted chiefly to a consideration of (1) the work of Karl Lamprecht, (2) that of Professor J. H. Robinson, (3) the historical applications of ' modern dynamic psychology ' (for the most part psycho-analysis). The author is throughout very sympathetic to psycho-analysis, and the last part of his book makes it fairly clear that he expects greater help from this branch of psychological study than from any other, though he stresses also the difficulties of the application of this and of all other psychological descriptions to historical material; material where the data are apt to be deficient just when they would be most valuable, e.g. knowledge of the early life of important historical personages. It would seem, however, that the author's attitude here reveals itself to be not altogether free from ambivalence, as when he writes, ' The psyche of the departed is likely to remain a closely guarded secret for the most part; not even Freud, and possibly not even God can furnish the key which will unlock the mystery ' (p. 152).

In the definitely historical part of his work Professor Barnes divides the problems into two main divisions, dealing with biography and with ' institutional and cultural history ' respectively. Under the former heading he makes an original contribution in the shape of suggestive though brief and somewhat superficial analytic studies of the characters of Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson in their relation to the history of the early American Republic. In the second part he makes some useful suggestions as to various ways in which displacements, reaction-formations and rationalizations may be active in various social and political aspects of American life. Although the book gives a useful and on the whole an accurate impression of the possibilities of the application of psycho-analysis in this field, it does not—curiously enough—contain a reference to all of the (by no means numerous) psycho-analytic studies that have already been made in this direction. Thus in the sphere of historical biography there is no mention of Abraham's work on *Amenhotep IV*; while in the sphere of politics, beliefs and institutions, Ernest Jones' illuminating works on *The Island of Ireland* and on *Certain Forms of Mediæval Superstition* are passed over in silence.

There is a very marked disproportion between the space devoted to psycho-analysis in the first and second portions of the book respectively. In the second part roughly forty-five pages out of seventy-four deal with psycho-analytical applications. In the first part only four pages out of 121 deal with psycho-analysis as a psychological doctrine claiming the attention of the historian. Nevertheless the book is on the whole a gratifying sign of the appreciation of the possibilities of psycho-analysis in a most important field.

J. C. F.

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Das Ehe-Buch. Eine neue Sinngebung im Zusammenklang der Stimmen führender Zeitgenossen' angeregt und herausgegeben von Graf-Hermann Keyserling. (Niels Kampmann Verlag, Celle, 1925. Pp. 428.)

This book is an expression of the wide-felt need for a detailed reconsideration of the problems of marriage in the light of modern social tendencies and psychological research. One would have thought that this aim could have been best achieved by a harmonious presentation by one hand, or at the most by two. Instead, Count Keyserling, the editor, has simply put together a series of independent essays written by no fewer than twenty-four authors. This fact in itself makes the book impossible to review adequately, for the contributions are necessarily of very unequal value and overlap one another considerably. To deal with all the views expressed would need a brochure.

Nevertheless the book provides an extremely interesting browsing ground, and for this purpose we would specially recommend the essays by Frobenius, on ' Mother-right ' ; Wassermann, on ' Bourgeois Marriage ' ; and Thomas Mann, on ' Marriage in Transition '. We note that, although there are contributions by Jung, Adler, Havelock Ellis, and Maeder, there is none by any psycho-analyst, unless we are to include von Hattingburg as such. To exclude, or nearly so, all that psycho-analysis has to say on the innumerable problems connected with marriage is enough in itself to vitiate the claim of the book to represent modern thought.

E. J.

*

The Measurement of Emotional Reactions. Researches on the Psychogalvanic Reflex. By David Wechsler, Ph. D. *Archives of Psychology ;* Edited by R. S. Woodworth. No. 76. (New York, 1925. Pp. 181. Price $1.75.)

An interesting study of the psychogalvanic reflex from both physiological and psychological points of view. The author considers in order the chief conditions and characteristics of the reflex and under each heading reviews the work of previous authors and records fresh experimental contributions of his own. With regard to the question of the physio-

logical action and nature of the reflex, he considers that the reflex (although obviously connected with the function of the sweat glands) is not due to a simple diminution of resistance, but rather to ' a diminution in the counter E.M.F. of polarization set up by the polarizing currents traversing the body at the moment the response is elicited ' (p. 104). In general we may look upon this polarization effect as in the nature of ' a diminution of concentration of the polarized sweat through the admixture of fresh unpolarized substance which is secreted each time the subject responds to a stimulus '.

Among the important psychological aspects of the reflex that are here considered the following may be mentioned as being perhaps of special interest to the psycho-analyst. There is in general a fairly marked positive correlation between the intensity of the reflex and the intensity of the corresponding emotional experience as noted introspectively. When the stimuli were reaction-words, the author employed the method of free association in the hope of throwing light upon those cases where this correspondence was absent and he discovered that where the introspectively judged emotion-intensity was small as compared with the psychogalvanic reflex, the associations led to ideas of greater emotional value than those indicated by the reaction-words, whereas this was not the case when the judged emotional intensity was relatively greater as compared with the intensity of the psychogalvanic reflex (p. 151). These facts seem to show that the reflex is connected with the affectivity of the deeper layers of the mind rather than with the surface emotions and are in harmony with the further facts : (1) That the psychogalvanic reflex can be elicited for the sleeping subject (p. 147) ; (2) that in the case of hysterical anæsthesia the reflex can be produced in connection with stimuli of which the subject, on account of his anæsthesia, is unaware (p. 159).

J. C. F.

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The Ego and Physical Force. By I. C. Isbyam. (The C. W. Daniel Company, London, 1925. Pp. 138. Price 5*s.*)

A metaphysical discussion in the form of monologues and duologues, chiefly devoted to the dynamic aspects of existence, with appendices devoted to Relativity and the Quanta theory. The name of Freud is once referred to, but as the book has no direct bearing upon psycho-analysis it does not call for further comment here.

J. C. F.

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Man and His Superstitions. By Carveth Read, M.A. (Cantab.), Emeritus Professor in the University of London. (Cambridge University Press, 1925. Pp. ix + 278. Price 12*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Originally this book was published together with one previously

reviewed in this JOURNAL (Vol. VI, p. 353) in one volume. It has now been revised and issued separately. The range it covers will be seen from the following list of chapter headings :

I. Belief and Superstition ; II. Magic ; III. Animism ; IV. The Relations between Magic and Animism ; V. Omens ; VI. The Mind of the Wizard ; VII. Totemism ; VIII. Magic and Science.

To the author the great problem of the origin of man is how he became a social or political animal. The explanation he gave in the former book was that at first men were sociable ' because they lived by hunting as a pack, and as a pack they had their customs and leaders determined by personal superiority '. The question then arises : What kept man a social animal after hunting ceased to be the chief means of livelihood ? The present book attempts to answer this question.

The answer given is ' through beliefs in magic and animism (here called superstition) '. Carveth Read contravenes Wundt's view that magic proceeded from animism, and considers that the two originated independently. Nor does he agree with Frazer that magic developed into religion, for he thinks that this also had a separate origin, which he does not discuss.

A clinical psychologist will miss in this book above all a due appreciation of the dynamics of the beliefs that are described so interestingly. There is throughout no reference to psycho-analysis or to Freud, omissions which are especially striking in the discussion of ghosts and totemism.

The book contains a mass of useful material and is written in the author's well-known attractive style. But he would be the first to admit that it does not speak the last word on the subject.

E. J.

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL ASSOCIATION

EDITED BY THE

GENERAL SECRETARY, DR. M. EITINGON

I. *Announcement of the International Training Commission*

In accordance with the decision taken at the Homburg Congress, every Branch Society of the International Psycho-Analytical Association is to select a Training Committee, to consist of not more than seven members. Dr. M. Eitingon, President of the International Training Commission, has up till now received the following reports with reference to the carrying out of this resolution :

Training Committee of the Berlin Psycho-Analytical Society : Drs. Abraham, Eitingon (*President*), Frau Horney, Müller-Braunschweig (*Secretary*), Radó, Sachs and Simmel. (Elected at the General Meeting on January 27, 1925.)

Training Committee of the British Psycho-Analytical Society : Dr. Bryan, Mr. Flügel, Drs. James Glover, Ernest Jones and Rickman.

Training Committee of the Hungarian Psycho-Analytical Society : Drs. Ferenczi (*President*), Hermann, Hollós, Frau Kovács, Lévy and Roheim. (Elected in October, 1925.)

Training Committee of the Dutch Psycho-Analytical Society : Professor Dr. Jelgersma, F. P. Muller, Dr. van Ophuijsen. (Elected on October 17, 1925.)

Training Committee of the New York Psycho-Analytical Society : Drs. Ames, Blumgart, Kardiner, Meyer, Oberndorf (*President*), Polon and Williams.

Training Committee of the Vienna Psycho-Analytical Society : Drs. Bernfeld (*Vice-President*), Frau Deutsch (*President*), Fräulein Freud (*Secretary*), Drs. Hitschmann, Nunberg, Reich, Reik. (Elected in January, 1925, and October, 1925.)

II. *Reports of the Branch Societies*

BERLIN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Third and Fourth Quarters, 1925

September 29, 1925. Short communications :

a. Dr. Van Emden (guest of the Society) : Notes on a patient influenced by the idea of riding.

b. Dr. Hárnik : A neurotic parallel to *The Portrait of Dorian Grey*.

c. Dr. Sachs : A problem of psycho-analytic therapy.

d. Dr. Boehm : An analysis concluded in sixty-seven sittings.

October 13, 1925. Discussion on morphinism in particular and morbid cravings in general. The discussion was opened by Dr. Radó. The following members took part: Dr. Kraft (guest of the Society), Dr. Alexander, Dr. Gross (guest of the Society), Dr. Hárnik and Dr. Boehm.

At the Business Meeting Dr. Karl Landauer (Frankfurt-am-Main), of the Vienna Society, was transferred to membership of the Berlin Society.

October 20, 1925. Dr. Radó: Mental effects of alcoholic poisoning.

At the Business Meeting Dr. Harold Schultz-Hencke (Berlin, W. 30, Viktoria-Luise Platz 12) was elected an associate member.

October 31, 1925. Frau Dr. Horney: Reflections on the masculinity-complex in women.

November 10, 1925. Short communications:

a. Dr. Fenichel: Unconscious understanding.

b. Dr. Radó: A parapraxis due to the feminine feeling of inferiority.

c. Frau Josine Müller: A contribution to the problem of the development of the genital phase in girls.

The discussion on morbid cravings was continued.

November 21, 1925. Dr. Liebermann: Notes on prescribing psycho-analytic treatment.

December 1, 1925. Dr. Fenichel: Review of Freud's work, 'Die Verneinung.'

December 12, 1925. Short communications:

a. Frau Dr. Josine Müller: The development of a perversion.

b. Dr. Liebermann: A dream-analysis.

During the fourth quarter of 1925 the Society organized the following lectures for analysts and students at the Institute (Berlin, W. 35, Potsdamer-strasse 29):

1. Dr. Sándor Radó: Introduction to psycho-analysis. Part I. (The position of psycho-analysis in medicine. Principles of analytical psychology. The theory of dreams. The libido-theory. Psychology of childhood.) Six lectures. Attendance: thirty-six.

2. Dr. Hans Liebermann: What ought the practising physician to know of psycho-analysis? Six lectures. Attendance: seven.

3. Dr. Karl Müller-Braunschweig: The psycho-analytical system. Part I. (Metapsychology: Concept of the libido. Theory of the instincts. Structure of the mental organism. Repression. The unconscious.) First half of the course: five lectures. Attendance: fifteen.

4. Dr. Hanns Sachs: Psycho-analytic technique. Part I. (general): The psycho-analytical method (for advanced students only). Seven lectures. Attendance: twenty-eight.

5. Dr. Felix Boehm: Seminars on selected chapters from the writings of Freud. (For beginners.) Eight lectures. Attendance: twenty-one.

6. Dr. Franz Alexander: Seminars.—Discussion of certain phenomena in recent psycho-analytical literature. (For advanced students.) Four lectures. Attendance: twelve.

7. Dr. Sándor Radó: Discussion of current problems of psycho-analytical therapy. (For practising analysts only, and especially for candidates in training. Admission by personal application only.) Three lectures. Attendance: thirteen.

8. Dr. Eitingon, Dr. Simmel, Dr. Radó: Practical introductory exercises in psycho-analytic therapy. (For candidates in training only.) Nine candidates.

In addition, the Society organized during this quarter the following public lectures in aid of its Salary Fund:

1. Dr. Ernst Simmel: Psycho-analysis and education. (Two evenings.) Attendance: 220.

2. Dr. Karen Horney: Certain types of women's lives in the light of psycho-analysis. (Two evenings.) Attendance: 200.

3. Dr. Hanns Sachs: Psycho-analysis and art. (Two evenings) Attendance: 120.

4. Dr. Karl Müller-Braunschweig: Psycho-analysis and philosophy (Two evenings.) Attendance: seventy-five.

Memorial Meeting for Karl Abraham

On January 12, 1926, a meeting was held in memory of the late Dr. Karl Abraham, the founder and, up till now, the only President of the Society. Dr. Eitingon spoke of the debt which the psycho-analytical movement, and especially the Berlin Society, owed to Abraham. Dr. Sachs gave a sketch of Abraham's personality and character, while Dr. Radó recounted the services rendered by him to science. Abraham's portrait, which had been brought for the occasion into the room where the meetings are held, will remain there permanently.

M. Eitingon,
Secretary.

BRITISH PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Fourth Quarter, 1925

October 7, 1925. Annual General Meeting of Members. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

President: Dr. Ernest Jones.

Hon. Treasurer: Dr. W. H. B. Stoddart.

Hon. Secretary: Dr. Douglas Bryan.

Mr. J. C. Flügel and Dr. James Glover were elected members of the Council.

The following associate member was elected a member: Mr. A. G. Tansley.

Dr. W. Inman, 22, Clarendon Road, Southsea, and Mr. R. O. Kapp, 25, Randolph Crescent, London, W. 9, were elected associate members.

The following new rule was adopted : ' The Society may not make any dividend, gift, division, or bonus in money unto or between any of its members '.

The Secretary reported that the Society now consisted of twenty-seven members, twenty-seven associate members, and three honorary members. One associate member had resigned, and one associate member was not re-elected.

Change of Address : Dr. Douglas Bryan, 35, Queen Anne Street, London, W. 1.

Meetings

October 21, 1925. Dr. John Rickman : A psychological factor in prolapse of uterus and perineal rupture. A married nulliparous anæsthetic woman dreaded lest she should squeeze and so destroy her husband's penis. Defæcation brought the same type of dread to her mind. The perineum became lax. Prolapse of uterus diagnosed. Pessary treatment was prescribed, but she was convinced it would be useless. Analysis revealed the desire to have a protruding genital, the gynæcologist's treatment thus thwarted her unconscious wishes. She bore a child under anæsthesia (the perineum was slightly torn). It died. Temporary diminution of anæsthesia sexualis and relief of prolapse symptoms. A later estrangement from her husband and return of the prolapse. Prolapse here associated with incapacity for genital application of libido. Suggested that it was a degenitalisation-symptom in the first place and, on learning of the risk she might run of procidentia, the symptom (gynæcologists might regard it as a disease) was exploited by penis-envy (castration) complex.

Second part of paper merely speculative : act of giving birth is a sexual act, sexual organs are involved and sexual pleasure experienced ; the allo-erotic component in the person of the obstetrician not always absent. In accouchement some show little capacity to take *tempo* of voluntary efforts from uterine contractions or from their physician, just as some show little capacity for sexual *rapport* with their partner in the act of coitus. The accoucheur has reason to fear that the perineum will tear in cases of this ' hysterical ' incapacity to subordinate voluntary action to the influence of genital stimulus.

Psychological factors must be considered in conjunction with physical (or physiological) factors in the ætiology of these two conditions. We must await the verdict of clinical observation before deciding on the degree of importance of the psychological factors ; heretofore physical factors have been regarded as sufficient, but the literature to a psychologist is unconvincing.

November 4, 1925. Dr. Eder mentioned the case of a patient who wore

glasses and in whom there was very little visual defect, in which he suggested that the wearing of the glasses should be discontinued. He gave the effect of this suggestion on the patient.

Dr. Jones mentioned the dream of a patient, and asked for observations on it.

Dr. Eder raised the question of the significance of ladies powdering their noses.

November 18, 1925. (*a*) Miss Grant Duff: Notes on Thérèse Martin. Thérèse Martin was a French girl who entered the Carmelites at the early age of fifteen and a half years. She died when she was twenty-four, in 1897, and was canonized this year. Her life was dominated by a phantasy which can be traced back to her fourth year. The phantasy is one of being carried in her mother's arms (body) to God, that is, to have intercourse with her father.

(*b*) Dr. Strafford Lewis: Notes on an anxiety case with obsessions. This was the case of a woman who had been under institutional treatment for two and a half years. She had been the victim of several grave traumata, and had severe symptoms, including visual hallucinations of a terrifying nature, and various obsessive actions culminating at times in periods of complete dissociation. An analysis of eight months' duration helped to clear up some of the symptoms. Attention was drawn to a number of drawbacks accompanying psycho-analytic work in an institution.

December 2, 1925. Dr. Bryan mentioned a case of the spontaneous occurrence of epistaxis in a young man during the psycho-analytic hour, and its sudden cessation on his discovery that it was representing menstruation.

Dr. Edward Glover mentioned a somewhat analogous case of hæmorrhage from the rectum.

Dr. A. C. Wilson mentioned the case of a man who was unable to count up to a hundred, and in attempting to do this always missed out the number six. A hundred represented to him heterosexuality, six represented homosexuality.

Mr. R. O. Kapp raised the question of sublimation with particular reference to its specific meaning.

Miss I. A. Grant Duff, 22, Mecklenburgh Square, London, W. C. 1, and Dr. J. Strafford Lewis, Claybury, Woodford Bridge, Essex, were elected associate members.

Douglas Bryan,
Secretary.

DUTCH PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Fourth Quarter, 1925

October 17, 1925. The following were elected members of the Training Committee: Professor Dr. G. Jelgersma, Dr. J. H. W. van Ophuijsen and Dr. F. P. Muller.

Dr. van Emden and Dr. van Ophuijsen gave an account of the Homburg Congress.

November 28, 1925. (*a*) Dr. J. E. G. van Emden: The spider in symbolism and folk-lore. (Paper read at the Homburg Congress.)

(*b*) A. Endtz: A clinical case-history. The speaker reported the case of an old woman, a patient in an institution, who hallucinated that she possessed a male genital, which took the form of a godlike individual named 'Piepie'. She herself was the mother of this individual, which was nurtured and influenced by means of magical gestures. Further, her whole body had turned into the genital; she called herself the Trinity or the lily.

A. Endtz,
Secretary.

HUNGARIAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Third and Fourth Quarters, 1925

July 7, 1925. Business meeting. A discussion took place on the possibility of training candidates in psycho-analysis and a Training Committee was appointed.

October 10, 1925. General meeting. It was resolved that the business year of the Society should begin in autumn. Last year's Committee was re-elected.

Dr. Ferenczi and Dr. Hollós: Report of the Ninth International Psycho-Analytical Congress.

October 24, 1925. Dr. S. Ferenczi: How to know when active psycho-analytic technique should or should not be used. (Additional notes on a paper read at the Congress.)

November 7, 1925. Frau Alice Bálint: North American Indian chiefs.

November 14, 1925. Dr. G. Groddeck (guest of the Society): Psycho-analytic therapy of internal diseases.

November 28, 1925. Dr. G. Róheim: Animism, magic and the medicine-man. (Being one of the lectures given in September, 1925, in the London Institute of Psycho-Analysis.)

December 12, 1925. 1. Dr. S. Pfeifer: Clinical communications:

a. Active measures in directing the transference.

b. Active methods in handling the technique.

c. Giving an order to speak loudly in the case of a patient who spoke softly and tearfully.

2. Dr. L. Révész: Cases of amenorrhœa which have been cleared up by analysis. (The rôle of the masculinity-complex.)

Dr. Aurel Kolnai has resigned his membership of the Society.

Dr. Imre Hermann,
Secretary.

INDIAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Annual Report, 1925

During the year under review the Society had on its roll the following members :

*1. Dr. G. Bose, D.Sc., M.B. (*President*), 14, Parsibagan Lane, Calcutta.
*2. Dr. N. N. Sen Gupta, M.A., Ph.D., 7, Vidyasagar Street, Calcutta.
*3. Mr. G. Bora, B.A., 7/2, Halliday Street, Calcutta.
*4. Mr. M. N. Banerjee, M.Sc. (*Secretary*), 30, Tarak Chatterji Lane, Calcutta.
5. Mr. H. Maiti, M.A., 10/1, Halsibagan Road, Calcutta.
6. Mr. Suhrit Ch. Mittra, M.A., 16, Bhabanth Sen Street, Calcutta.
7. Mr. Gopeswar Pal, M.Sc., 92, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta (or Bolepore E. I. Ry.).
8. Capt. S. K. Roy, M.B., I.M.S., 2, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
9. Capt. N. C. Mitter, M.B., I.M.S., 38, Raja Dinendra Street, Calcutta.
10. Prof. Haridas Bhattacharya, M.A., P.R.S., 1, Ramkrishna Mission Road, Dacca.
11. Prof. Rangin Chander Halder, M.A., B.N. College, Patna.
12. Dr. Sarasilal Sarkar, M.A., M.B., Civil Surgeon, Noakhali, Bengal.
13. Capt. J. R. Dhar, I.M.S., 6, George Town, Allahabad.
14. Major Owen Berkeley-Hill, M.A., M.D., I.M.S., European Mental Hospital, Kanke P.O. Ranchi, B. N. R.
15. Major R. C. McWatters, I.M.S., Shahjahanpur.
16. Dr. P. C. Das, M.B., European Mental Hospital, Kanke P.O. Ranchi, B. N. R.

* Members of the Council for 1925.

Accounts

Expenditure		Receipts	
Subscription to the Central Executive	Rs. 232. 0.0	Balance on December 31, 1924	Rs. 244. 7.1
Subscription to Freud Memorial Fund	,, 66. 2.9	Members' subscriptions for 1925	,, 340. 4.0
Contribution towards Mr. S. Mittra's expenses for attending Congress	,, 66. 2.9		
Stamps and stationery	,, 3. 2.0		
	Rs. 367. 7.6		
Balance on December 31, 1925	,, 217. 3.7		
	Rs. 584.11.1		Rs. 584.11.1

Meetings

January 25, 1925. Annual Meeting : the Secretary's Report regarding the working of the Society for 1924 was laid on the table, and the Council for the year 1925 was elected as follows :

Dr. Girindrashekhar Bose, D.Sc., M.B. (*President*).

Mr. Manmath Nath Banerjee, M.Sc. (*Secretary*).

Dr. Narendra Nath Sen Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. (Member of Council).

Mr. Gobin Chand Bora, B.A. (Member of Council).

March 29, 1925. ' Nature of the Wish,' by Dr. G. Bose, D.Sc., M.B., the President. Dr. Sarasilal Sarkar's note on the psychology of a ' Sakhivabini '.

August 20, 1925. ' Psychology of a Murderer ', by Dr. Sarasilal Sarkar, M.A., M.B.

September 3, 1925. ' The Homosexual trend in Psychoneurotics ', by the President.

September 7, 1925. ' The Homosexual trend in Psychoneurotics ', by the President (continued).

September 13, 1925. ' The Homosexual trend in Psychoneurotics ', by the President (continued).

Informal meetings were held almost every Saturday evening at the President's house, at which topics of general psycho-analytical interest were discussed, as in previous years. Many outside visitors and friends of members attended these meetings.

Mr. Suhrit Chandar Mittra, one of the members, attended the International Congress at Homburg.

During the year under review the psycho-analytical movement gained in popularity. The Indian Science Congress, which held its sittings at Benares at the beginning of January, 1925, started a psychological section for the first time. In this section psycho-analytical papers were read by Major Owen Berkeley-Hill and the President.

On August 26, 1925, the Calcutta members of the Society interviewed Mahatma Gandhi and discussed Major Berkeley-Hill's suggestion on Hindu-Moslem unity. Mahatma Gandhi showed keen interest in psycho-analysis.

The President, on July 30, 1925, addressed the Calcutta Parliament on the bearing of psycho-analysis on criminology.

On September 5 and 12, 1925, the President delivered two lectures on the History of Psycho-analysis and Mental Mechanisms at the Bengal Technical Institute at the invitation of Alumni Association.

On September 22, 1925, the Rotary Club invited the President to address the members on business and psycho-analysis. The address evoked keen interest amongst the members as well as the general public. Some of the leading daily papers wrote editorials.

Articles in Bengali magazines dealing with psycho-analytical subjects were written by the President and other members.

Reference to psycho-analysis is to be found in many of the short stories appearing in the Bengali magazines. Even children's magazines publish suitably written psycho-analytical articles. Many medical men and teachers have been showing interest in psycho-analysis and have been attending the President's lectures, which are meant for general students, at the University. A scheme is on foot to open a special instruction class in theoretical and practical psycho-analysis for Post-Graduate Medical Students. It is hoped the University will co-operate.

THE NEW YORK PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Second Quarter, 1925

April 28, 1925. (*a*) Dr. Jelliffe: The psychopathology of epidemic encephalitis. A psycho-analytic approach to the psychopathology of epidemic encephalitis, with special reference to the relation of soma to psyche, a field in which this author has been notably interested and to which he has contributed for many years.

May 26, 1925. (*b*) Dr. Lehrman: Clinical communication: A 'child is being beaten' phantasy. Material obtained from a schizophrenic girl of nineteen, who because of her psychopathic condition readily submitted elements of this phantasy and data pertaining thereto in a very transparent form.

(*c*) Dr. Feigenbaum: Clinical communication: Note on a case of anxiety-hysteria. A phobia in the case of a married woman, thirty-three years old, who feared to leave her mother's home. The mere mention of her moving into her own home precipitated crying spells, sinking sensations, tremors, etc. The Œdipus development was interfered with in early childhood, due to a psychopathic father. Identification with this father, also death-ideas toward the mother, were found in the centre of the neurosis.

Dr. Max D. Mayer was elected an associate member.

Third Quarter, 1925

It is the custom of the Society to hold no meetings from June to September inclusive.

Fourth Quarter, 1925

October 27, 1925. Dr. Oberndorf: Recent impressions of the status of psycho-analysis in Europe. This paper dealt essentially with the progress of the Berlin and Vienna psycho-analytic clinics and included a description of their organization, financing, policies and operation. The close affiliation of the Berlin clinic with the teaching organization that trains psycho-analysts was emphasized.

November 24, 1925. Dr. Feigenbaum: Analysis of a case of hysterical depression. The case material of a girl who entered upon analytic treat-

ment after having been profoundly depressed for nearly eighteen months. The bulky material, which lends itself to an abstract only with difficulty and loss in value, was represented in a systematic manner, instructive and gratifying to all present, and provoked a lively discussion, especially since practical clinical issues were involved.

Dr. Oswald Boltz was elected an associate member.

A meeting in December was omitted, since the American Psycho-Analytic Association met in New York City on December 27, 1925.

Monroe A. Meyer,
Corresponding Secretary.

RUSSIAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

First and Second Quarters, 1925

January 29, 1925. Dr. B. D. Friedmann: The science of character and psycho-analysis. The theory of character was assumed to be based on constant characteristics, which do indeed vary in individuals but remain constant for each character-type and operate as determining factors. The speaker gave a critical survey of the theories of character put forward by Kretschmar and Ewald and of the psycho-analytical conception. Character develops on the basis of the instincts; the repression of particular instincts results in a malformation of character.

February 19, 1925. Business meeting.

March 21, 1925. Professor G. A. Charasow (guest of the Society): Pushkin's works in the light of psycho-analysis. The speaker analysed several of Pushkin's works and showed that there were certain parallels between the social motives in Pushkin's writings and his mental attitude.

March 26, 1925. Al. R. Luria: Affect as an unabreacted reaction. Human behaviour is an equilibrium attained by the mechanism of reaction. When certain reactions which are important for the individual remain inhibited and ' unabreacted ', an affect arises which manifests itself in a radiating excitation. The mechanism of the affect appears in the so-called ' parabiotic-inhibition ' (N. Wedenski, 1902), i.e. an inhibition of the motor spheres of the cortex, resulting from over-excitation and producing compensatory excitation of the deeper, vegetative centres. The following are affects of this sort: (1) anxiety in consequence of sexual inhibition (Freud); (2) ' affective ' reactions, the so-called ' explosion ' in Pawlow's experiments with dogs; (3) the experiments of Dr. Sokoljanski (Charkow) on blind deaf-mutes; (4) the speaker's experiments with regard to affective states in human beings.

March 28, 1925. Professor G. Charasow (guest of the Society): Methodological notes on the psycho-analysis of art. In the speaker's opinion, every work of art should be regarded as a dream of the artist's.

All creative work has infantile motives which, in their subsequent evolution, are moulded in a social direction.

April 9, 1925. Dr. Wulff: Freud's more recent critics. The speaker summarized the criticisms against Freud which have of late made their appearance and showed that they re-embody the old objections to his theory which have long been refuted. Dr. Wulff specially emphasized that the feeling against Freud which is now manifesting itself in Russia is in the main simply a repetition of the controversy long ago concluded in Western Europe, with the addition of some new factors.

April 16, 1925. (1) Al. R. Luria: Experimental phantasies in a child. The speaker gave an account of the experimental investigation of a boy's free phantasies, which were motivated by such factors as the castration-complex, the theme of birth, etc.

(2) Wilhelm Rohr: 'Idetics'. The speaker gave an account of recent 'idetic' investigations and indicated briefly the attitude of psycho-analysis to the discussion on the subject.

April 30, 1925. Business meeting.

May 7, 1925. (*a*) Vera Schmidt: A manifestation of the castration-complex in children. The speaker recounted a remark by a boy which had reference to the castration-complex. From this she passed to a discussion of the connection between the epistemological instinct and the castration-complex.

(*b*) Al. Luria: Report of the work of the Psychological Institute in Leningrad.

May 14, 1925. Dr. B. Friedmann: Psycho-analysis and materialistic monism. Psycho-analysis is an entirely materialistic doctrine; from this point of view consciousness may be regarded as a process resting on a material basis (compare hypercathexis and consciousness). Psycho-analysis propounds the psychophysical problem as a problem of psychic energy and resolves it into the effect of environment on the organism and the conception of instinct.

May 29, 1925. Report on psycho-analytical literature.

Al. Luria,
Secretary.

SWISS PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Fourth Quarter, 1925

October 31, 1925. A. Furrer: The analysis of a twelve-year-old boy with hysterical fits.

November 14, 1925. A. Kielholz: An attempt at analysis of a delirium tremens.

November 28, 1925. M. Müller: The personality of the physician in psycho-analytic treatment.

December 12, 1925. H. Zulliger: Notes on experience gained during practice in elementary schools.